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HOW BODHIDHARMA CAME TO THE EAST:

Representations of the First Zen Patriarch in East Asian Art

How did Bodhidharma come to the East? The visual representations of Bodhidharma in East Asian art with a special emphasis on the Korean Bodhidharma-Paintings and the formation of Bodhidharma's iconography.

Volume I

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ABSTRACT

The founder of meditational Buddhism[1] according to tradition is the Indian born Bodhidharma,[2] whose legendary figure can often be seen in visual art and popular culture of East Asian countries. In my thesis I focus on the visual representations of Bodhidharma, and for the first time, after summarizing the information about him revealed in primary and secondary textual and pictorial sources, I set down a comprehensive study on the formation of the Bodhidharma-iconography, and discuss Korean Bodhidharma-images in a wider context of East Asian images. This thesis introduces Korean Bodhidharma images for the first time in a Western language, and show them together with the already known Chinese and Japanese images. It raises several problems on the identification of these images and brings new evidence on the formation of the Bodhidharma-iconography. It shows how it derived from representations of Daoist immortals and Buddhist arhats.

Earlier studies usually consider texts as primary to visual images, but in my thesis, introducing images from the eleventh and twelfth century, I show that in the case of Bodhidharma-iconography visual images had a considerable influence on written texts.

Stressing the importance of visual representations of a religious founder in forming further written and visual legends is a new approach which opens new paths to further studies in religious imagery.

[1] Called *Dhyāna* in Sanskrit, *Chan* in Chinese, *Seon* in Korean, *Zen* in Japanese.

[2] According to other sources he was Persian. He is called *Putidamo* or *Damo* in Chinese, *Boridalma* or *Dalma* in Korean and *Bodai Daruma*, or *Daruma* in Japanese, *Bo-dhi-dha-rmo-tta-ra* in Tibetan, and he also can be found in Vietnam.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My research on the iconography of Bodhidharma started with a question related to the popular Japanese Daruma dolls. The interpretation of the meaning of this doll started to engross my attention during my undergraduate years when we read mediaeval Japanese texts in original language about the founder of Chan Buddhism. I wandered what was the connection between the honoured religious founder and the funny doll?

I was a student of art history at the University of Budapest (ELTE), where I have studied many aspects of mediaeval Christian art and iconography. These studies influenced me further and my interest turned to the question of the formation of the iconography of Bodhidharma. Through the process of the investigation I have collected the textual and visual references to Bodhidharma in those countries where his figure appeared and was venerated. I became more aware of the presence of Bodhidharma-imagery in Korea, after I had the chance to visit Korea and participated in a summer course of the Academy of Korean Studies in Seongnam. In Western languages there are no scholarly studies available on this topic, therefore I started to study Korean language more intensively, and thank to the Korea Foundation I could study at Yonsei University in Seoul in 2001/2002. During my longer stay in Korea I had a chance to experience everyday life and discover hidden treasures in Korean monasteries, and could see monk painters during work.

To conduct my research further and to be able to summarize it in a form of a PhD-thesis could not have been possible without the great help of my teachers, first of all my supervisor, Dr. Youngsook Pak who helped me in many ways. Being aware of the harsh financial requirements to be a full-time enrolled PhD-student at SOAS in the University of London, and living in a metropolis, she always helped me finding financial support, and involved me in organizing workshops and conferences. I wish to thank her that she shared her knowledge about Korean art, and the many hours she devoted for reading Korean sources with me, especially in the first years of my research, and then giving me useful suggestions in writing my thesis. Apart from being a teacher in the academic sense, she always interested in the well-being of her students.

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As a student of Japanese studies, from the beginning I had to deal with ancient Japanese texts. I owe thanks to Dr. Yamaji Masanori, who even before the mastery of contemporary Japanese language, challenged us to deal with very hard religious texts written in ancient Japanese language. This enabled me to deal with Japanese academic sources, and increased my interest in Buddhist studies.

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In Korea, I am grateful to my first supervisor in Seongnam, Prof. Yi Seong-mi, who first turned my attention towards Korean art. I owe many thanks to Dr. Park Jeong-Ae, who introduced me to the art circles in Seoul, and helped me to see original art pieces in Korean museums and private collections; acquainted me with Korean art history teachers and students, whom I could discuss many aspects of my thesis. I thank to Prof. Kim Lena who kindly let me audit her lectures at Hon'gik University about Korean art. And many thanks to the Korean monks, among them especially Donseong sunim and Jimyeong sunim, who helped me in getting a deeper knowledge about the contemporary practice of painting Bodhidharma-images.
I also thank to Tae-shik Shim, a fellow PhD-student, with whom we spent many hours in London with discussing our researches and who helped me a lot with Korean and Chinese translations. I owe many thanks to my friends, especially to Dr. Lilla Russell-Smith and Sarah Hind who from the beginning of my studies in London always helped me in many ways.

And finally, I owe thanks to my parents, who supported me all the time, and provided a loving and supporting background for doing research far from my home. I am most grateful to my father who, as an example for being a researcher himself, though in a different field, with his enormous dedication to research was always an example for me from my early childhood. I also owe many thanks for his help with computers and at technical difficulties.

TRANSCRIPTIONS

In this thesis I transcribe Chinese words with the *pinyin* transcription; Japanese words with the Hepburn-system; and Korean words with the newly introduced system of transcription. However, at some well-known names I still use the McCune-Reischauer-system, following the new system only in the vowels. For example I transcribe the name of the famous Korean painter 'Kim Myeongguk' in my thesis, and not 'Gim Myeongguk' (new system) or 'Kim Myŏngguk' (McCune-Reischauer-system).

The writer of the thesis has studied Japanese and Korean languages, therefore when referring to original Chinese sources, in some cases (where could not obtain the help of specialists), used their Japanese and Korean translations.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Aim of the Thesis

The founder of the meditational Buddhism,[3] according to tradition, is the Indian born Bodhidharma, whose legendary figure can often be seen in the visual art and popular culture of East Asian countries.[4] He is called *Putidamo* or *Damo* in Chinese, *Boridalma* or *Dalma* in Korean and *Bodai Daruma*, or *Daruma* in Japanese, *Bo-dhi-dha-rmo-tta-ra* in Tibetan,[5] and he also can be found in Vietnam.[6]

The aim of my research is to make a deeper investigation of Bodhidharma as his figure appears in visual arts. This task seems quite simple at first glance, but as we find out more and more about the images and the circumstances within which these images were produced, it becomes more complex and challenging. Dealing with only one figure as he appears in visual arts through a huge span of history, we not only learn more about the represented personality himself, but the most important outcome of such research is to know more about and understand better the mode of creation within a given region where meditational Buddhism and the image of Bodhidharma appeared.

In this thesis I discuss first Bodhidharma as a person from a historical point of view, using the critical approach as used in the case of Chan/Zen Buddhism by Bernard Faure.[7] This part of my research mainly relies on historical and religious historical sources about the meditational school of Buddhism. I will summarize the information revealed in primary and secondary textual

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3 *Dhyāna* in Sanskrit, *Chan* in Chinese, *Seon* in Korean, *Bsam gtan* in Tibetan, *Thiên* in Vietnamese. As the Western world first became aware of it through Japan, it is most frequently referred to by its Japanese name. In my thesis I will use the relevant name according to the country concerned otherwise I use 'meditational Buddhism' or *Chan* to name it. (Meditational school as an institutionalised religious movement is a Chinese phenomenon, therefore when I refer to this school I prefer to use the Chinese name in general and not the original Indian name or the more common Japanese name).

4 In Tang China (618-907) Chan as a pattern of thought spread throughout Central Asia, Tibet, Vietnam, Korea and Japan. Several important texts related to the meditational school of Buddhism were translated into Sogdian, Uighur and Xi Xia among others (Faure 1997:186 note 17).

5 Broughton (1985:42). About the Tibetan Meditational School, see Lai-Lancaster 1983 and Paul Demiéville: "L'introduction au Tibet du bouddhisme sinisé d'après les manuscripts de Touen-houang: Analyse de récents travaux japonais", *Contributions aux études sur Touen-houang.* Geneva and Paris (1979), pp.1-16; Giuseppe Tucci: *Minor Buddhist Texts: Part II. First Bhāvanākrama of Kamalaśīla.* Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente 1958.

6 In Vietnam the first meditational school was introduced by Vinitaruci, an Indian monk who had come to Vietnam from China in the sixth century. In the ninth century a school of 'wall-meditation' was introduced by the Chinese monk. (He was called in Vietnam Vo Ngon Thong) A third major meditational school was established in the eleventh century by the Chinese monk called in Vietnamese Thao Durong. Between 1414 and 1428 Buddhism in Vietnam was persecuted by the Chinese. (See about Vietnamese Chan: Nguyen 1997 and Thich 1975) In this paper I do not intend to deal with Vietnamese and Tibetan Chan in detail, though they also deserve deeper investigation.

7 Faure 1986, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1996, 1997, 2003.

sources.[8] The focus of my study is on the visual representations of Bodhidharma, namely the image itself; for the sake of clarity.

The still prevailing Sino-Japanese perspective imposing limits for research, so it should be altered now. This thesis is an attempt to break through this approach, therefore I do not want to limit my research to only one country as the majority of previous sources dealing with this topic have done. The novelty of this study is supposed to be in its general view of East Asian Bodhidharma-images. The visual images from Korea are in particular relatively unknown,[9] because there are almost no publications on Korean imagery of the meditational school in Western languages, and even in Korean there are only a few scholarly studies available, as compared to the dozens of books and articles dealing with Japanese Zen. Therefore I will handle the material with more emphasis on the Korean Bodhidharma-images and will not describe the Japanese Bodhidharma-images in very great depth as it might require another entire thesis to do so.[10] In this paper I attempt to concentrate on the newer aspects and relatively undiscovered areas such as the formation of the Bodhidharma-iconography and the Korean Bodhidharma-images.

Art and visual culture spread not only within one country, but also cross borders, influencing the artistic and creative thoughts of other regions. This is particularly true in the case of religion, where the monks involved were the carriers of Buddhism from one country to another. Together with the religious thoughts they transmitted the visual culture of other territories in the form of religious images. I will examine artistic influences and the differences between regions where Chan Buddhism was adopted.

Images and texts have their own lives. They are born (i.e. created), they are used somehow and they exist in a certain context where they work in an interaction with the viewers and readers. For the question of the creation of certain images we will have to answer the following questions: By whom, why, and how were these images produced? For the usage of the images, the following questions arise: by whom, where, when, how, and for what purpose were the given images used? In this context it is important to distinguish between how we now see the surviving images, and how their contemporaries saw them in the past. How they were seen in different eras between their 'creation' and our days? There are also images which, even though they have not survived, might have had an influence on later images, and which we therefore have to keep in mind even though we may have no tangible evidence of their existence. Images from the past live concurrently together with new images. Any changes from previous schemes, any innovations deserve our attention, because they can reveal a great deal about the context and circumstances of the production of an image. It is also necessary to discuss the idea of an image in East Asia and within this framework we can draw a more accurate picture about the Bodhidharma images.

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8 See Appendix for the details of the textual sources and a chronological table containing the episodes of the Bodhidharma-legend according to their appearance in the written sources (pp.129-149).

9 Together with the Vietnamese and Tibetan images, which are not discussed in this paper, since the writer of this paper is yet not familiar with Vietnamese and Tibetan languages.

10 The material I have collected so far would enable me to include a more detailed discussion of the Japanese Bodhidharma-images, but regarding the limitation of space and the better availability of the material on the Japanese images I found it wiser not to detail them here.

Man lives in 'Reality' which includes the knowledge he experiences himself together with the knowledge he acquires through his education and imagination, but what this 'Reality' means for him and how he visualises it, changes from age to age. Is there a *Kunstwollen* - a deliberate intention for depicting something with a certain manner?[11] Or is the knowledge of how images are produced *automatically* derived from the knowledge available in a given society? In other words: is creation conscious or unconscious – and if it is not purely this or that, can we acquire the intentions and motivations for representing a visual image, in this case, the Bodhidharma-representations? I contrast the style of *chinsō*-type coloured paintings[12] used for rituals with the more spontaneous monochrome ink-paintings, and I show to what extent the style had an importance in the use of these images.

What is the role of representation in the case of Bodhidharma in different times and regions? Is it true that the representation of the founder of this school, is in accordance with the religious teaching of Chan Buddhism which rejects reliance on 'words and letters'? This issue is also discussed in this thesis, since its aim is to depict the iconography of an iconoclastic tradition which Chan Buddhism claimed to transmit.

I found also necessary to discuss the possible reasons for Bodhidharma's popularity, especially in Japan, where even in a form of a roly-poly doll his figure can be found almost everywhere. This topic lies outside the scope of my thesis, therefore I only draw attention to this phenomenon.[13]

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11 I borrowed this expression from Alois Riegl Austrian art historian in the 19th century, the writer of *Stilfragen* (1893), *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (1901) and *Das holländische Gruppenporträt* (1902). In his works he used this expression in a slightly different way. I apply this word (*Kunstwollen*, i.e. 'wanting art') to the styles which existed simultaneously (especially after the thirteenth-century East Asian art), from which the artists could choose, as one chooses a style of language which is most appropriate to one's message.

12 *Chinsō*: Japanese pronounciation of the formal portraits of meditation masters, usually made in a meticulous, coloured style, great attention with the realistic depiction of the face. These *chinsō* paintings were often transmitted from a master to his chosen disciples and inscribed for them by him.

13 The research I had conducted on this field about the popular forms of the Bodhidharma-cult and its possible origins, is mostly based on an anthropological, folklore-oriented approach. Though we know that art historical- and especially iconographical- studies essentially rely on such research, (see: Belting 1987) I found it wiser to include my results in a separate paper concerning only this topic in greater depth (Mecsi 1999).

2. Research Methods

The technical method for my research is based on collected images of Bodhidharma, which I arranged on the basis of Chinese, Korean and Japanese paintings, statues and other documents.
I systematised the collected materials according to primary and secondary sources, written and visual documents. Then I have collected the following information about the discussed objects: first, the name and life of the authors were set up, giving a historical framework for the discussed object. Then, following Erwin Panofsky's system, first I have approached the given images from a formalist point of view,[14] then identified them with their iconography,[15] and then finally, after discussing these two criteria, I attempted to place these images into a general context discussed in my thesis, finding their importance, and their "real meaning" and dynamics.[16] During that investigation, the broader knowledge- gleaned about the given society where the object was created- draws the borders within what we can interpret our images. Only within that framework we should find why certain forms were used to convey certain meanings and used serving certain purposes.[17]
I have arranged all the collected materials in chronological order. By doing this we could get a clearer overview of pictorial continuity and stylistic divergences. In becoming more familiar with the history and culture of the region we can find out the reasons why these art pieces are of different styles and techniques.[18]

3. The Nature of Previous Studies. Philology, Art History, Anthropology

For a long time studies of Chan Buddhism were dominated by a mainly uncritical, sectarian approach, and the scholars dealing with the topic were mostly monks themselves, so they accepted many legends without question. For their approach it was not necessary to analyse their standpoint. Legends and images served as settings for their lives. Explaining them was only important where they supported their beliefs.[19] Only in the first half of the twentieth century, when the Dunhuang manuscripts were rediscovered, scholars like Hu Shih, Ui Hakuju, Sekiguchi Shindai, and Yanagida Seizan started to look at this tradition from a more objective and critical point of view. Following these scholars, many Western scholars, mostly historians of religion, started to deal with Chan Buddhism and attempted to alter the still prevailing approach planted in

14 Describing the topic, identifying the material, technique, size, and seals on the objects.

15 The inscriptions on the objects often give very important reference for that.

16 Panofsky 1984: 259

17 Ibid.: 258

18 For example, in Japan in the second part of the sixteenth century the so-called 'Nanban' style pictures show the influence of European art, or in the seventeenth century the late Ming-period influence can be traced to Japanese Bodhidharma pictures made when the *Ōbaku* school settled in Japan at that time.

19 This is usually the case in religious art and thought where the ideas often wrapped in myths and legends in order to bring closer the abstract ideas to the practitioners and to the easy understanding (See more about symbolism in Cassirer 1953).

the West by D.T. Suzuki.[20] He unquestionably added a lot to Western intellectual history (for example, his influence on Martin Heidegger, Erich Fromm, Carl Gustav Jung, Thomas Merton and Aldous Huxley), but this Zen Buddhism had very little to do with real East Asian practice.[21] The 'Zen', which was introduced to the West, was altered by Western thoughts and was mostly for missionary purposes. Stress was put on those common and human-concerned thoughts found in Zen Buddhism for which one could find parallels with the core of Christian teachings. Using different vocabulary and more exact psychological description in places where before only religion-specific symbols had been used helped a lot in understanding the psychological motifs of mysticism detached from religions,[22] especially in Christianity, but it did not tell much about the historical and intellectual background of the newly arrived thought- system.

For contemporary scholars it is inevitable to look at Chan/Zen Buddhism as with any other historical phenomenon: they should define the standpoint of their investigation clearly and try not to be struck by the attractive philosophical and religious discourse.
Sharf draws attention to the fact that dealing with the visuality of a religious tradition was previously a very much neglected field of the traditional Western research and finds that this is quite surprising if we consider the profusion of images which were well noted by the earliest European explorers to Asia,[23] but says that the division of academic labour prevented the scholars of the West from having a more accurate picture of the actual religious phenomena in East Asia, including the role of visual imagery.[24] In the West, Buddhist studies grew out of philology, the study of early texts composed in classical languages.[25] These scholars took their ability to read the

20 Suzuki, Teitarō Daisetz (1870-1966) who acquired familiarity with Anglo-American culture and a mastery of the English language as his marriage to an American woman gave him deep roots in the West whilst taking nothing from his fidelity to his former Zen Buddhist background. The American writer William James (1842-1910) had a great impact on him, influencing him in his psychologizing style. Though he never gave a systematic presentation of Zen throughout his world tours and activity in the West, "he was able to cover all aspects in a prolific output that included such influential works as the three volumes of *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, which first published in London between 1927 and 1934 and which have been reprinted and translated many times since then. His other works were also popular such as the trilogy comprising *An introduction to Zen Buddhism (*1934), *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk* (1934), and the *Manual of Zen Buddhism* (1935). Suzuki was not a regurgitator, but he constantly reinterpreted the message he transmitted, adapting it to Western concerns and deliberately highlighting certain key themes" (Dumoulin 1992:4-10).

21 Suzuki used the term *Zen* for naming a way of thinking and practice cut off from its historical roots and elevating it into a universal truth thus making Western audiences more able to absorb the core meaning of its mysticism. He did not handle it as a historically definite phenomenon, as he was more a missionary interested in the updated spiritual message for contemporary Western society, rather than a historian. See the criticism of the historian, Hu Shih who attempted to alter the view and method planted in the West by Suzuki (Hu Shih 1953/b: 3). However, Hu Shih's approach was also historically determined (McRae 2001:59-102).

22 Otto 1932; Somogyi 1973; Suler 1993; Fromm-Suzuki 1960; and for the activity of the Kyoto school Dumoulin 1992:20-66

23 See the writings of the Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci in China. In: Pasquale M. d'Elia, S.J. ed., *Fonti Ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579-1615)*, 3 vols. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1942-1949

24 Sharf 2001: 5

25 See: Donald Lopez Jr. ed., *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995; Guy Richard Welbon, *The Buddhist Nirvana and Its Western Interpreters.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968; J. W. de Fong, *A Brief History of*

scriptural sources, and concentrated on the analysis of Buddhist thought and doctrines, the narrative and mythological tradition, biographies and the institutionalised history of the tradition. In India where Buddhism disappeared a long time ago and where material artefacts are relatively rare and of uncertain provenance, this preoccupation with the ancient texts is not so surprising, but in the field of East Asian Buddhism there is no lack of alternative visual sources for understanding Buddhist tradition. There are plentiful sources of archaeological and art historical remains and there is a living tradition which is more or less based on the previous religious practices. In this case, following their colleagues in Indological studies, these scholars' fixation on ancient Buddhist textual sources without any sidelong glances at the living tradition or its visual aspects seems a bit one-sided. The importance of translation work is inevitable in order to understand certain phenomena. But scholars should be aware of the other alternative sources as well for the better understanding of their topic.

The Japanese scholarly tradition I described in the beginning of this chapter, namely the premodern sectarian scholasticism, also had a deep-rooted influence on the training of scholars in the field of East Asian Buddhism. Most Japanese scholars of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism are ordained priests themselves and teaching in private Buddhist Universities sponsored by certain Buddhist orders. Japanese scholars of East Asian Buddhism also emphasise the importance of the textual tradition and they have tended to impart this approach to their orientation of their foreign students. Sharf draws attention to the danger that often enough these Western students of Buddhism hardly tend to notice the clerical aspects of their mentor's education, while their Japanese teachers understandably enough are unwilling to draw attention to their sectarian interests.[26] This has also resulted in the various texts written by these Western scholars about East Asian Buddhism - especially about Zen which became a very popular topic amongst Westerners- being mainly uncritical text-oriented compilations.

The study of Buddhist art as a discipline also has its own history. This is rooted in the classical art-historical approach, namely viewing a particular artefact in the context of other artefacts, looking for stylistic similarities and differences. The use of Buddhist textual sources in the hands of these scholars is usually for identifying a certain image, its symbolism and iconography. The merit of this approach lies in identifying objects and providing a reliable source for further studies. But this approach also has weak points in terms of not viewing the broader context.
The identification of an image by its iconography or authorship is most useful for art dealers and collectors, but for scholars who wish to reconstruct and understand a tradition is only a tool for further research. Recently this old-fashioned approach was challenged by art historians in the West, where the art historian Hans Belting even went so far as to deny his discipline's legacy by referring to the 'end of art history' suggesting that we should look further and deal with the context and place of the art objects.[27] Following Belting's approach, much research has been done in the field of Christian art, elucidating the place and usage of the artefacts within the rituals, challenging long-held views and bringing fresh air into the scholarship of religious imagery.

Buddhist Studies in Europe and America, Delhi, India: Sri Satguru Publications, 1987; Philip C. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988

[26] Sharf 2001: 5

[27] Belting 1987

In this study I discuss both written and pictorial, visual sources about Bodhidharma. In this aspect my research is an attempt to show that visual sources had as enormous an impact on the written tradition as had the previous written sources. So in this sense one cannot regard written culture as the only inspirational source for the iconography of visual images. As the ability to write was not so accessible to the wider public, nor even to the majority of the monks and religious 'intelligentsia', oral tradition and visual imagination therefore had an important role in the course of everyday life. We also have to think of the writers of such sources who were probably not only influenced by earlier written sources but by their own knowledge which also included their visual experiences as well.[28]

The strongly held methodological assumption that 'narrative illustrations' are inevitably preceded by a literary text, has recently been challenged by art historians.[29] Erwin Panofsky argues that not the texts influence images, but images also have genres as texts do.[30]

In the field of Asian arts James Cahill observed the types of text-object relationships in Chinese art and noted the same notion that 'older studies took somewhat simplistic views ... considering the text as primary and constant to which illustrations served as embellishment and amplification, recent studies see a more organic interaction. In the newer model, the works in verbal and visual media adapt flexibly to each other. For instance, illustrations may generate a new version of the text, or the choice of excerpts to be illustrated ... leads to a shift of emphases within the narrative.'[31] Therefore, the suggestion of the primacy of the written sources, which has long been an integral part of the iconographical and iconological studies, is no longer accepted as inherently self-evident. The tendency to look at pictures in order to identify a background text "may cause narratives to be found where they never intended to be".[32]

During the course of a study of a specific topic - regarding the understanding of the past - we should be aware of the complex nature of the circumstances within which the 'piece' was created. We cannot imagine its life in a vacuum, but in a very vivid and manifold real world which has many stories to tell us about itself if we have the courage to start our investigations and use our knowledge critically and do not attempt to fill in gaps caused by the lack of material and lack of our knowledge with explanations which we then come to regard as the only and infallible truth. It

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28 We should also remember that acoustical and musical influences can also have a role in the production of any tangible work of art.

29 Lachman 1993: 241

30 Marosi 1995:26 Cf. Erwin Panofsky "Imago Pietatis." *Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des "Schmerzenmannes" und der "Maria Mediatrix"*, Festschrift Friedländer, Leipzig 1927. "...in einem ähnlichen Sinn, wie etwa die Lyrik auf der einen Seite von der Epik und Dramatik, auf der anderen von der liturgischen Dichtung unterscheidet."

31 James Cahill: "Types of Text-Object Relationships in Chinese Art", address delivered September 1, 1983, to the 31st International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North America; quotation by Lachman 1993:241 from the conference copy of the lecture, pp.1-2 (31st CIISHAN:Abstracts of Papers, Tokyo: Toho Gakkai, 1983, 2.p.276)

32 Lachman 1993:242. About the critique of this approach, see: Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983

is a thinking method through which we should realize the inner 'logic' of the creative mind of humankind, let it be in the West or the East of our hemisphere. It is challenging to find out the facts behind the myths and unwrap the 'body' of the inner thoughts from the colourful cloths covering them, which hardly allow us to see if there is a real body or only the suggestion of a 'reality' around which all the ceremonies and the lives of many people depended. But I have to add that the 'cloths' themselves have a certain reality, and we cannot put them totally aside. The myths and the tales have their own lives in the minds of people who believe in them and feel them to be important to their lives. They are symbols and messages which help them to organize their own 'universe' in the patterns of a wider context.

The amalgamation of beliefs and lores has a very important role that we should not look down on, but rather try to understand. Historical 'reality' is only important to a human being if one can place it within the framework of one's life and knowledge, so that it has a certain message for one.

The other discipline of relevance to our investigation is the field of Anthropology. As a heritage of the Judeo-Christian intellectual tradition, image-veneration was regarded as idolatry and seen as a sign of ignorance, superstition and a retarded cultural development.[33] Early anthropologists such as Edward Tylor and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl saw the distinguishing feature of 'primitive religion' or 'primitive mentality' in the imbuement of inanimate objects with animate qualities.[34] Western scholars of Buddhist Studies, who were familiar with the philosophical and literary sophistication of the researched Buddhist texts, therefore had great difficulty in dealing with the image-veneration of those traditions which had once produced such textual references. This issue becomes extremely interesting in the study of Chan Buddhism where Western scholars were led to admire the iconoclastic and drastic statements of Chan Buddhist Masters. Such scholars have a tendency to interpret the whole tradition in the light of these textual sources thus tending to misinterpret the obviously different religious-cultic practices by the believers. There are scholars who make a distinction within Chan Buddhist-related art and concern themselves only with the monochrome ink paintings made in the style of the literati, termed 'Zenga'.[35] Stephen Addiss wrote in his book on Zen Art that "As a rule, Zen has had little use for miraculous deeds, stressing instead the enlightenment of the everyday world."[36] In this way these scholars attempt to avoid being confronted with the fact that in Zen Buddhist circles too, image-veneration had a very important role, and that some of the themes which appeared on the spontaneous ink-paintings were inspired by venerated icons themselves. Magic and miraculous deeds were also common in Chan/Zen as we see in several studies published recently.[37] Led by their roots in the study of

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33 Marosi 1995

34 Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom*, 2 vols., 6th ed., London: John Murray, 1920; Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think*, transl. Lilian A. Clare. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985; cf. Sharf 2001:6 and 206 note 23

35 Hempel 1960; Addiss 1976, 1989; Stevens-Yelen 1990, Fukushima 1978

36 Addiss 1989: 57

37 See Robert H. Sharf's article in the *History of Religions* 32.1 (1992):1-31 "The Idolization of Enlightenment: on the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China"; and see the eminent-

religious texts, scholars of East Asian Buddhism also tend to think of Chan Buddhism as an atheistic tradition and therefore also tend not to consider that the "performance of obeisances and offerings to images which appear within this tradition constitutes idolatry per se".[38]

In summary, the previous studies done in the field of Chan Buddhism can be separated to three main groups according to their approach. The first is the philological approach of the Buddhologists which can grasp the ideals and aims of the tradition, but not its real appearance and practice in the given milieu.The second approach is the one of classical Art History which deals with the relationships of the visual images within the context of images, but only considers their symbolism, and their style, looking at them in their inner context rather than a broader one. The third approach is that of Anthropology rooted in the notion of the Judeo-Christian disdain of idolatry and on the other side the sectarian approach and its influence, which both stood in the way of the critical scholarship of Chan Buddhist art in its historical place.

Each of these approaches has its own value and importance, as philology gives us the translated texts to refer to the monastic ideals, art history gives us the identification of artefacts what we can organize with more confidence, while anthropology attempts to describe the living tradition. Whilst focusing on our questions we need to cross boundaries between disciplines, so as to bring us closer to our answers.

4. Development and Early History of Chan Buddhism in China

Bodhidharma is regarded as the founder of Chan Buddhism, so before discussing the problems related to his legend and visual representation we should first set the stage for his appearance. What were the original circumstances of the legend's appearance? What was its aim and role, how did perceptions of Bodhidharma change over the course of history?

In order to set the context for the discussion of Bodhidharma images, we should have a look at the historical background of Chan Buddhism. How was it formed and how did it manage to survive in China? What do we know from the earliest documents related to it? First, we need to explore the circumstances of the development of Chan Buddhism in China then its appearance in other East Asian countries, in this thesis namely in Japan and Korea. What can we glean from historical sources? In the early eighth century this school was called the 'Eastern Mountain Teaching' and not yet Chan. So how did it happen to this 'Eastern Mountain Teaching' School come to achieve such prominence later on as 'Chan' ? What is Chan (Jp. Zen, Kor. Seon) Buddhism exactly?

monk genre such as Koichi Shinohara: "Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: Stupa-Inscriptions and Miracle Stories" P. Granoff and K. Shinohara eds., *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia.* Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1988:119-228

[38] Sharf 2001: 6

The *Luoyang qielan ji* states that Bodhidharma was a Persian monk and he was very much impressed by the Yongning temple at Luoyang. This temple was built in 516. In 528 and 529 troops were quartered in the temple and in 534 the whole structure burned down. Kenneth K.S. Ch'en argues that for Bodhidharma to praise the magnificence of that temple he should have seen it during the height of its glory, between 516 and 526.[39] Therefore the date of his arrival as 526 cannot be held any more if we accept these sources.

The *Xugaoseng zhuan* recorded that Bodhidharma arrived to the Song territory, and then went north to the Northern Wei kingdom. Ch'en then concludes that Bodhidharma should have arrived during the reign of the Liu Song Dynasty (420-479).[40] These early sources do not mention Bodhidharma's meeting with Liang Wudi (r.502-549).

In the Record of the Transmission of the Lamp (*Jingde chuan deng lu*), a standard Chan history written in 1004, records that Bodhidharma, the founder of this school arrived in China in 520 or 526, and after an unsuccessful interview with Liang Wudi (r.502-549), went to the Northen Wei kingdom, where he practised 'wall-contemplation', sitting in front of a wall for nine years.
This version for the beginning of the Chan school contradicts the earlier sources, for example the *Luoyang qielan ji* and the *Xugaoseng zhuan.*

Bodhidharma is considered the first patriarch of the Chan school in China, his disciple, Huike the second (traditional dates 487-593). The school was noted for the ascetic (Ch. toutou, Skt. dhūta) life of its followers, each monk allowing himself only one item of clothing, one bowl and two needles, begging one meal a day, and living under trees or in caves or hills faraway from human dwelling places.[41] The school was called sometimes as the Lanka school as the main text which was said to be transmitted by Bodhidharma to Huike was the Lankavatāra sūtra (Descent to the Island of Lanka). This text emphasizes the doctrine of inner enlightenment, that one who has realized this enlightenment, transcends mental discrimination and does not see duality any more.[42] This realization can be made possible by the *Tathāgatagarbha* ("Suchness-womb") which exists in everyone. This sūtra also teaches that words are not always necessary for communication; as in many cases teachings are transmitted by gazing, raising eyebrows, frowning, smiling, and twinkling of the eyes.[43] In these aspects these teachings are very close to the later Chan practice, which came to be interpreted in more drastic terms by later Chan masters.

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39 Ch'en 1973:352

40 Data in the biography of Sengfu in the *Xugaoseng zhuan* would seem to verify this. Sengfu, from North China joined the monastic community under the tutelage of Bodhidharma. During the period 494-497 he left the north to go to South China and died there in 524 at the age of sixty-one. According to monastic rules he must have been at least twenty when Bodhidharma ordained him. If he were sixty-one in 524, he would have been in his twenties in 483. This would indicate that Bodhidharma was already in north China at the time of his ordination. (Ch'en, 1973:352) According to Hu Shih (1953:6) Bodhidharma arrived in South China about 470-475 CE and lived in China for about 50 years, mostly in the North.

41 Hu- Shih: "Lengjia congkao" (A Study of the Laṅkā school) in *Hu Shih Lunxue jinzhu* , Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935:198-238

42 Ch'en 1973:352-353

43 Ch'en 1973:353; Miklós 1978

Bodhidharma was said to have told his followers to regard this sutra as "the only translated scripture which, if followed in conduct, may lead to salvation."[44]
After Huike the patriarchate was transmitted to Sengcan (d.592)[45] then Daoxin (580-651) and Hongren (606-674). We possess more historical sources referring to the seventh century when in a mountainous site near Huangmei in Hubei province, South-Central China, on Mount Lu[46] the monk called Daoxin (580-651) took up his residence around the end of the sixth century. This monk was remembered later as the fourth patriarch of Chan Buddhism. It was not, however, until the mid-eighth century that this was pointed out retrospectively. In Daoxin's biography it is said that he had chosen the place because of its natural beauty, but it is very possible as McRae suggested that he arrived by invitation of Hongren (606-674), later the fifth patriarch and Daoxin's major heir.[47] In the seventh century when these two men organized the life of this retreat, a lot of students of different backgrounds ranging from Pure Land devotees to Vinaya (monastic code) specialists, exegetes as well as ascetics came to study meditation from them.[48]

Hongren's most important disciple was Shenxiu (605?-706). He studied under Hongren for six years 651-657. We know from Shenxiu's biography that he was born into a very prominent family, probably with direct connections to the Tang ruling house and that he had a wide spectrum of knowledge.[49] In 662, Shenxiu was very influential in an extended and highly politicized debate in the court;[50] sent into exile from the capital, he went to live to the monastery Youchuansi in Jingzhou, Hubei. Shenxiu gathered many able students around him. In the year 700 Shenxiu was invited to the imperial court of Empress Wu (684-706). Despite being largely ignored by the Chan tradition itself, historically it was this event which to a great extent determined the future of that tradition.

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44 Hu- Shih 1953:5, note 5

45 The death date as the year 606 of Sengcan is the traditional date. But an earthenware tile, inscribed in relief and discovered in 1982 near Hangzhou, clarifies the year of death of the third patriarch. According to this inscription Sengcan died in the seventh month of 592 on the peak of Mount Wangong in Shu. His successor Daoxin wrote the epitaph for him. But according to his traditional dates Daoxin would have been only twelve years old at that time, therefore Daoxin's biography also should be revised (Brinker,1996; cf. *Wenwu* 1985, no.4, p. 8; Fontein: "The Epitaphs of the Two Chan Patriarchs", *Artibus Asiae* Vol. LIII. 1-2 (1993):98-110, fig.1).

46 Later on though he moved to a neighbouring mountain called Shuangfeng ('Twin Peaks'), where the nucleus of the Chan monastic community developed.

47 McRae 1988:130

48 ibid.

49 "He could converse in the southern dialects of Wu and Chin and was thoroughly versed in the exegesis of the mysterious principle of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu, the great truths of the *Book of documents* and the *Book of Changes*, the sutras and śastras (treatises) of the Three Vehicles, and the rules of the Four-part Vinaya." (quoted by McRae, 1988:132) In contrast, his teacher Hongren was described by his contemporary followers as "a quiet, unassuming man, not disposed toward doctrinal exposition or scriptural study but always on the mark in his personal instructions to students. For years he supposedly meditated with the monks by day and slept with the cattle at night." (McRae 1988:131)

50 "He defended the right of the monks to refrain from doing obeisance to their parents and the emperor"(McRae 1988:132).

Shenxiu's effort in the court on behalf of Buddhism increased his prestige among his religious followers. A contemporary writer recorded that faithful laymen travelled over a thousand *li* just to hear him preaching.[51] He was praised publicly as the dharma master in the capital, the preceptor of emperors, and the acknowledged leader of the group called later the Northern School of Chan Buddhism.[52] Empress Wu[53] probably found it politically opportune to patronize a school of Buddhism that deviated from the position of established schools.[54] She therefore invited Shenxiu, the old monk of the Laṅkā school who was worshipped by the court.[55] In the next five years Shenxiu taught Hongren's "East Mountain Teaching" throughout the two capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang and was honoured as "The Lord of the Law at the Two National Capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang, and the Teacher of the Three Emperors".[56] Shenxiu's biography was written by Changyue a brother of the two emperors and the great prose writer of the day. In his text the genealogical line of Shenxiu's descent was made public as the following:

1. Bodhidharma
2. Huike (487-593)
3. Sengcan (d.592)
4. Daoxin (580-651)
5. Hongren (606-674)
6. Shenxiu (605?-706)

After the death of Shenxiu and Empress Wu in 706,[57] his successors continued to receive great support from the imperial court. Shenxiu's most important discipline, Puji (651-739) even accompanied Emperor Xuanzong (reigned 713-756, died 762) on his journeys and taught meditation for a large number of students.[58] He was honoured as a National Teacher of the Empire together with Yifu (died 732). Shenxiu's lineage flourished until the beginning of the tenth century. And the same genealogical line was mentioned in their biographies.[59]

But something interesting happened which challenged this flow of history. In the year 734 when Puji was still in power, a southern monk called Shenhui (684-758) at a large gathering in a monastery in Huatai openly challenged the line of descent claimed by Shenxiu and his school as not true and historical.[60] He said that "Bodhidharma gave Huike a robe (*jiasha*) as testimonial of the transmission of the True Law. This robe was handed down by Huike to his chosen successor, and in four generations it came to Hongren. But Hongren gave it, not to Shenxiu, but to Huineng

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51 Ch'en 1973:353

52 ibid.

53 Empress Wu is an interesting figure in Chinese history. She used Buddhism to support her reign, and identified herself as a bodhisattva whose peaceful reign had been prophesied in scripture (McRae 1988:133).

54 Shambala 1991:195

55 Hu- Shih 1953:5

56 The Three emperors are Empress Wu and her two emperor-sons whom she had deposed successively in 684 and 690 (Hu Shih 1953:5).

57 They died within a few months of each other.

58 McRae 1988:133

59 Hu Shih 1935:6

60 The importance of Shenhui was first emphasized by Hu Shih, a famous Chinese political and intellectual figure who applied Western research methods to the study of Chinese thought and culture. He attempted to reorganize Chinese history into a clear structure as he indicated in his writings, too. His role in reformulating the history of Chan is discussed by McRae 2001: 59-102.

of Shaozhou in the South." "Even Shenxiu himself always said that the robe of transmission had gone to the South. That is why he never claimed in his life-time that he was the sixth successor. But now the Chan master Puji claims that he is the seventh generation, thereby falsely establishing his teacher, Shenxiu, to be the sixth successor. That is not to be permitted."[61]

In the Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, the *Liuzu tanjing,*[62] the most famous and most widely quoted anecdote about the succession of the Chan patriarchate the illiterate Huineng (638-713), an almost unknown person, and not Shenxiu, is indicated as the sixth patriarch. According to this story when the fifth patriarch Hongren felt that he was close to the end of his life, in order to choose his successor, the sixth in the line of the patriarchs, he ordered his disciplines to write a "mind-verse" describing how they understood his teachings. The disciples assumed that the most senior amongst them, Shenxiu would write the poem and would receive the Patriarchs' insignia, the robe and the begging bowl, therefore they didn't write a poem. But Shenxiu felt the need for composing a poem, that he inscribed on one of the monastery's corridor walls.
He wrote:

> "The body is the tree of wisdom,
> The mind is a bright mirror in its stand.
> Always keep it polished
> Never let it be covered by dust!"[63]

Hongren was disappointed by this poem, but in the meantime whilst an uneducated layman from the South, Huineng (638-713) was at work threshing rice, an acolyte came in and recited Shenxiu's verse. Huineng then realized that its author didn't understand the real meaning of Buddhism. So after the boy told him about Hongren's order, he asked to be led to the corridor wall where Shenxiu's verse was inscribed and then he dictated his own poetic response to it:

> "Wisdom never had a tree,
> The bright mirror doesn't have a stand.
> Fundamentally there is not a single thing,
> Then where could the dust collect?"

The reaction of the fifth patriarch to this verse was more positive, though he couldn't admit it publicly. Late that night he called Huineng to the lecture hall and expounded the Diamond sutra to him. Even though illiterate and from South China, Huineng had an innate understanding and thus was immediately enlightened. Hongren therefore transmitted the sudden teaching and the insignia of the patriarchal succession to him and told him to leave the monastery secretly late at night. This is the story as it was told us in the Platform sutra about how the enlightened but illiterate Huineng from the South became the sixth patriarch instead of the well-educated and influential Shenxiu.

Who was Huineng? We can say, that virtually nothing is known about him; only that his name appears in the list of names of Hongren's disciples, then in the piece which informs about the discussion of the "mysterious principle of Buddhism" around Hongren's stūpa or memorial pagoda. This relative obscurity and his Southern origin made him a good person to build the

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61 Quotation from Hu Shih 1953:6, with romanization changed to pinyin.

62 See for details: Yampolsky 1967

63 Translation from McRae 1988:127 with slight alterations

forthcoming new teaching around his name. This was done by the future seventh patriarch, Shenhui (684-758) about whom we know that he was a disciple of Huineng for a few years at Caoqi. Shenhui was a talented preacher and a dramatic storyteller. Many of the stories about Bodhiharma's life such as his interview with the Liang Wudi and the second patriarch's cutting off his arm to show his desire to be taught by Bodhidharma are dated from around this time. In the 690s he travelled to Chang'an to take an official ordination. He spent three years studying under Shenxiu, but he eventually returned to Caoqi to be with Huineng. After Huineng's death in 713 Shenhui wandered for a few years and seemed to keep good relations with Shenxiu's students and his ideas were not so strikingly different from of theirs. But in his public lectures held in 730, 731 and 732 Shenhui proclaimed his independence from those ideas and attacked the legitimacy of the 'Northern School' of Shenxiu.[64] He advocated that the true dharma- transmission proceeded to the Southern school of Huineng and not to the Northern school lineage from Hongren to Shenxiu and Puji. Actually he was the one who applied the terms 'Northern' and 'Southern' to the two lineages thus separating them and initiating a schism which had a very strong importance for the later history of Chan Buddhism. He also opposed the 'Sudden Enlightenment' advocated by Huineng's Southern school versus the 'Gradual Enlightenment' said to be represented by the Northern school. This schism indicated an enduring paradigm for the divergence of teachings within the Chan tradition. This approach also influenced the literature of rhetoric, where duelling standpoints (schools, religious teachers etc) are opposed and thus showing how much better was one than the other.[65] This rhetorical approach can be traced back in the stories of Bodhidharma, too, for example in the story of his famous discourse with the Liang Wudi. This emperor was China's most famous supporter of Buddhism.

According to legend Liang Wudi invited Bodhidharma to come from the homeland of Buddhism to his court. The emperor enumerated to the visiting monk all the good deeds he had done, temples built, charities donated, and so on.

Then he asked Bodhidharma:

"What do you think is the merit of all this?"

Bodhidharma replied:

"Nothing whatsoever."

Quite taken aback by the brutal directness of this answer, the emperor asked another question:

"What is the most important principle of Buddhism?"

At this Bodhidharma replied:

"Vast emptiness, nothing holy in it."

This answer was equally perplexing to the emperor, who, in exasperation, finally asked who exactly was the stranger in front of him. Bodhidharma told him he did not know.[66]

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64 The term Northern as opposed to Southern has a long history in Chinese thinking and rhetoric.

65 Faure 1991

66 About Bodhidharma's meeting with Liang Wudi, the earliest surviving document dates from the eighth century (See *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* (On Establishing the True and False About the Southern School of Bodhidharma) transl. Jacques Gernet, 1949:81-91). In my opinion, this story might be understood symbolically as Bodhidharma's personality can also be seen as a symbol. Opposing the established forms of Buddhism with the rebellious forms which Bodhidharma represented became a tool in the hands of Shenhui (684-758), the seventh patriarch, who claimed to transmit the lineage of his teacher, Huineng who was used as a symbol for "Southern School" Chan.

Many scholars took this story for granted and tried to use it as a reference point for estimating the dates of Bodhidharma's life and his arrival in China.[67] Speculation such as this does not take us closer to the real meaning behind the legends and discourses which served mostly rhetorical and didactical purposes for their creators. Using historical or semi-historical evidence to underline a certain mental and religious teaching is not a new phenomenon in human history. We need some tangible evidence to connect abstract thinking and the best way to represent an idea is to connect it with historical personalities and events.

Shenhui became very popular, attracted a lot of followers, and was friendly with a number of important literati and statesmen of the time. From this group he chose the poet Wang Wei (699-759) to write the biography of Huineng.[68] In 753 Shenhui was suspected "of some conspiracy injurious to the interests of the State."[69] So the Emperor Xuanzong (reigned 713-756, died 762) sent for him and after an interview Shenhui was sent into exile. At the end of his third year of exile (755-756) the An Lushan rebellion broke out and threatened the Tang Dynasty's very survival. After the fall of the capital in July, 756 the emperor had to leave the city and a new government was formed. The biggest problem was then how to raise money in order to continue the war. One emergency measure adopted was to sell Buddhist licenses (*dudie*) in an increased number for those who desired to enter the Buddhist or Daoist orders, each certificate selling for one hundred strings of cash, the proceeds to be donated to the government.[70] But in order to give the sales a push it was necessary to persuade people "to open their hearts and their purses by preaching."[71] The exiled monk Shenhui was remembered by his influential friends, who became leaders in the war government. Shenhui returned to preach to the crowds. He was popular and his fund-raising was so successful that in 796 the new emperor in appreciation of his work called a council of Chan masters in order to determine the 'true teaching of Chan' to smooth the controversies in the transmission of the teachings.[72] In this council Shenhui was established as the seventh patriarch, thus his teacher Huineng was officially declared to be the sixth patriarch. Subsequent biographies of Huineng all refer to Huineng as the sixth patriarch after Bodhidharma.

So in this brief summary of the history of the formation of Chan school we have seen how a small religious community in the mountains became prominent with the help of the learned Shenxiu through his influence in the court of Empress Wu. Following this the heretic Shenhui became the representative of the new revolutionary mainstream of Chan Buddhist school. He caused a schism and new paradigm in the school, contrasting Shenxiu's lineage (Northern school, Gradual Enlightenment) with the Sudden Enlightenment of the Southern School of his teacher, the relatively unknown Huineng. The use of rhetoric and the embellished legends about Bodhidharma

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67 The traditional dates of his arrival to China concerning the ruling dates of Liang Wudi are 520 or 526. There is a lot of speculation over the dates of Bodhidharma, as discussed in the beginning of this chapter.

68 Preserved in *Tangwencui* section 63 (Hu-Shih 1953: 8).

69 Hu Shih 1953: 8

70 Ch'en 1973:354

71 Hu Shih 1953: 9

72 From the report of Zongmi (died 841) the famous Chan historian of the time (Hu Shih 1953: 9).

served his purpose of challenging the existing order and advocating his views. Even though he was sent into exile, with the help of his popularity and influential friends, he was called back later to help in fundraising for the war to save the empire. As a sign of success he was declared as the 'official successor' of the Chan teachings. His victory was welcomed by the liberals and radicals of the time, who saw his movement as a liberation of thought from the old authoritative traditions. After that time the subsequent Chan schools hurried to prove their spiritual and genealogical relationship to Huineng and Shenhui, the officially established patriarchs.[73] The most important Chan schools in the Tang dynasty were the Linji branch followed by Yixuan (died in 867 or 866) and the Caodong branch which was established by Liangjie (807-869) and Benzhi (840-901).[74]

Till now we have talked about the early history of the Chan school in China, regarding its institutionalised form. But what is Chan exactly?

The word Chan is the Chinese pronunciation of the Sanskrit word *dhyāna* which means meditation. This religious discipline aimed to tranquillize the mind and to make the practitioner discover the presence of a spiritual faculty that bridges the gap between the finite and infinite and enables him to "experience ecstatic trances or the blissful state of equanimity and wisdom".[75] It is an intuitive method of spiritual training whose aim is to discover a reality that is the fundamental unity which pervades all the differences and particulars of the world.[76] This reality is the 'mind', or the 'Buddha nature' that is present in all sentient beings.[77] This Buddha nature is inconceivable, though it exists everywhere but cannot be pinned down, cannot be expressed. It can be understood only through intuition and not by logical means. During intellectual speculation and conscious thoughts the ego is present and makes a distinction between subject and object, accumulates karma or dependent origination, thus makes it impossible to experience the mind or the Buddha-nature.The experience of the Buddha-nature is called awakening or enlightenment,[78] the awareness of the non-differentiated unity of all existence.[79]

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73 Zongmi (died 841) a contemporary historian, summarized the Chan movement in his collected writings and recorded sayings of Chan Masters from Bodhidharma to his own age and described the Seven Schools of Chan in the eighth century. His collection "The Fountainheads of Chan" has been lost, only his general preface has survived (Hu Shih 1953:12-17). Zongmi divided these schools into three categories: first, the old Indian dhyāna or meditative schools, secondly the Ox-head school and thirdly the Schools of Shenhui and Matsu. Only three of them was regarded as following the old traditions (Northern School of Shenxiu and his disciples, a school in Western China, and the school of Jinxin), the others were described as revolutionary (Baotang Monastery's school founded by the monk Wuzhu, Shenhui's school, the Oxhead Hill School, and then Mazu Daoyi's school).

74 The centres of their school were on Mts.Cao and Dong, therefore they were called Caodong (Ch'en, 1973: 357).

75 Ch'en 1973: 351

76 Ch'en 1973: 357

77 Tathāgatagarbha-teaching.

78 *Wu* in Chinese, *O* in Korean, and *Satori* in Japanese.

79 Ch'en 1973: 358

In China Daoan (312-385) and Huiyuan (334-416) were amongst the first Chinese monks who emphasized the importance of the dhyāna practice.[80] Sengchou (480-560) was also a famous dhyāna practitioner taught by the Indian master Buddhasanta.[81]

The meditation or Chan school was one of the many Buddhist schools that existed in China, but how did it become so prominent while most of the Buddhist schools experienced a decline after the Tang dynasty? After the great persecution of Buddhism of 845 Chan schools still flourished and emerged in the Song Dynasty as a vigorous movement.[82] Kenneth Ch'en attributes this survival to two features. First of all it did not depend heavily on external religious paraphernalia such as scriptures and images, so it could function smoothly even after these externals were destroyed. On the other hand the productive labour made by the monks to support themselves also helped in the survival of Chan compared to other schools which largely depended on the society's support.[83]

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80 Daoan collected dhyāna sūtras and made commentaries on them (Ch'en 1973:351). Huiyuan once wrote that "I regret very much that since the introduction of the great religions into the East, so little is known of the practices of dhyāna that the whole structure is in danger of collapse because of lack of the solid foundation of meditation (Hu Shih 1932:480). Huiyuan worked together with Buddhabhadra who taught several Chinese dhyāna practitioners in North China.

81 Ch'en 1973:351

82 Ch'en 1973:363

83 The Chan master who was responsible for introducing this rule was Huaihai (720-814) who even in his old age insisted on working in the fields. When his disciples took away his tools to make him rest and conserve his energies, he refused to eat until he was given the tools back again (Ch'en 1973:363).

II. WHO WAS BODHIDHARMA?

It may seem for those familiar with the history of Chan Buddhism that Bodhidharma is a relatively well known personality, but if we have a closer look at the sources referring to his life, we can discern that the real person is somehow hidden behind the hagiographical texts. Looking closely at the legendary life of Bodhidharma we understand farther that the story is not about one person, but is an amalgamation of many legends and traditions. Historians with a critical approach can shed new light on the tradition of Chan/Zen/Seon Buddhism and of 'its own nature', but they often find themselves in a difficult situation when they wish to outline the proper historical facts behind the surviving legends. If historians deal with texts concerning Bodhidharma as documents from which they need to find historical facts, this research method can be quite misleading. As Bernard Faure very aptly commented: "often enough, after this mortuary washing, only a skeleton remains, and it is this skeleton that will enter the museum of history. In fact, some missing bones may have to be taken from other skeletons to complete the exhibit."[84]

1.The legendary life-story

The textual sources about Bodhidharma's biography show a great inconsistency. To avoid confusion, I will summarize his life-story including all the available legends concerning Bodhidharma with occasional indications of the controversies and the original sources of the legends mentioned in the footnotes. For further reference I enclose a detailed compilation of the sources concerning Bodhidharma's life, and include a table (pp.130-131) in the appendix about the chronological appearance of certain legends.

Bodhidharma (ca. 470-532), the founder of Chan Buddhism, arrived in Canton, Southern China in 520.[85] At that time Mahāyāna Buddhism was an already established religion, so the Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (Liang Wudi, reigned 502-549?) who was a devout Buddhist, led Buddhist

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[84] Faure 1986: 188

[85] The exact date of his arrival is given differently in the written sources and is open to speculation in scholarly works (Pelliot 1923). The earlier textual sources indicate his arrival during the Wei or the Liu-Song periods, but towards the second half of the eighth century the legend was fixed putting his arrival at the time of the Liang (see *Lidai fabao ji*, dated around 774, T. 51.2075:179-196). This was probably influenced by the legend previously inserted to Bodhidharma's biography about Bodhidharma's audience with the famous Buddhist-patron and emperor, Liang Wudi (r. 502-549) (see *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* dated 732, translation: Jacques Gernet 1949:81-91).
We have to add, that a text from around 730 called *Lengqie shizi zhi* mentions a Central Indian monk called Gunabhadra who arrived in Canton by ship during the Yuanjia era (425-453). He was welcomed by the emperor and translated among other works the Lankāvatāra sūtra, which had great importance and later was associated with Bodhidharma as the text transmitted to his successor Huike (Yampolsky 1967:20). Based on this text Luo Xianglin (1960:14-15) believes that Bodhidharma was a disciple of Gunabhadra at the Guangxiao Temple. However, Hu Shi stated that Gunabhadra must have been dead by the time Bodhidharma arrived in China (Hu Shi 1994). But these speculations which are based on giving more credence to certain sources as reference points rather then to others cannot be regarded as an acceptable method, though it is important in the sense of investigating the relationships between the given sources.

assemblies, wrote commentaries on several sūtras and supported Buddhism in many other ways, invited the Indian monk Bodhidharma to come from the homeland of Buddhism to his court.
After their short conversation[86] it is no wonder that Bodhidharma had to leave very soon, so he crossed the Yangzi-river with the help of a single reed and headed to the North.[87] Then he stopped at the Shaolin monastery, near Luoyang in Henan province.[88] Here he spent nine years in meditation in a cave looking at a blank wall.[89] The novelty of his teachings came from this stress on the importance of meditation (Skrt. *Dhyāna*, Ch. *Chan(na)*, Kor. *Seon(na)*, Jp. *Zen(na)*,[90] hence the name of the school) at a time when Mahāyāna Buddhism was mainly Sūtra-oriented.
As a famous stanza attributed to Bodhidharma says:

> "A special transmission outside the scriptures;
> Not depending on words and letters;
> Directly pointing to the human's mind;
> Understanding one's own nature."[91]

There is a legend which tells us that during meditation Bodhidharma was overtaken by drowsiness, whereupon he became so angry that he tore off his eyelids from which a tea shrub grew, the leaves of which were used to provide a vitalising tea drink throughout the whole of East Asia.[92]

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86 See p.18

87 About crossing the Yangzi the earliest written source is from the mid-eleventh century (*Chuan fa zhengzong ji* (Transmission of the Dharma and the correct teaching in the true School) though there is no mention of the reed (T. 51.2078, 715-768). We can find the earliest written source surviving to our age which mentions the reed from the thirteenth century (see *Wujia zhengzong zan* (Eulogies from the Five Houses in the True School) dated 1254 and *Shi shi tongjian* 1270). But these early thirteenth century textual sources did not mention that Bodhidharma actually used the reed for the crossing. This we can know from the visual sources where Bodhidharma is represented as standing on a reed while crossing the river.

88 The earliest reference to Bodhidharma's stay at the Shaolin monastery is from the first decade of the eighth century (see *Chuan fabao ji* (Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Jewel) dated around 710 CE). Afterwards it remains a constant element of the legend.

89 The wall-meditation was mostly understood as a meditation-technique where the mind should be like a blank wall. In general we can find this contemplation-technique in several sources from the seventh century onwards (see *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks) dated 645), but there is no mention about the cave where the wall-meditation is often depicted in the visual sources from the thirteenth century onwards.

90 Though meditation practice was common from the fifth century onwards, see the Prajnāpāramitā and Yogacāra meditation, and the contemplative aspects of the Tiantai school (BDK English Tripitaka 75, 1998:1).

91 My translation differs slightly from the different versions found in several publications.
As I will point out later the important emphasis on personal experience versus written words was very possibly influenced by Daoist ideas (Laozi 1994).

92 I have not found the original version of this legend among the primary sources I have collected.

And as he spent so much time without moving, his legs and arms became atrophied and broke off.[93] But despite this he was also considered as the founder of the famous martial art, Shaolin gongfu.[94]

While Bodhidharma was sitting meditating in the cave, a man, Senguang, later called Huike came and asked him to accept him as a disciple and begged to be taught by the master, but Bodhidharma did not even notice him. It was snowing heavily, but Huike still patiently waited outside the cave for Bodhidharma's response, and then, in his final despair and to show his sincere intention, he cut off his left arm and showed it to Bodhidharma to make him speak. With this he was able to get Bodhidharma to ask him what he wanted.

"There is no peace in my mind. Please, calm down my mind!"- asked Huike.

"Put it in front of me, then I will calm it down!"-replied Bodhidharma.

"But where shall I look for my mind?"-asked Huike. "I don't find it anywhere."

"There now!- answered Bodhidharma. "I have already calmed it down."

Huike in this moment gained enlightenment.[95]

One day, Bodhidharma felt the urge to go back to India, so he asked all his disciples to tell him what they had studied about his teachings, and how much they had understood.[96] When the disciples told their interpretations of the teachings one by one, Bodhidharma told Daofu: "You only grasped the skin." For the nun Zongchi: "you only grasped the bone", then at the end Huike

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93 This accounts for the armless and legless round shape of the popular dolls of Bodhidharma in Japan- the so-called "Daruma dolls". This aspect also cannot be found in the primary written sources. I consider this episode a secondary addition to the existing legend and some existing visual sources. In my opinion there were some dolls shaped like the "would-be Daruma dolls" before people started to identify those dolls with the meditation monk who spent nine years in meditation without moving. As the original meanings of such roly-poly dolls became overshadowed by time, they gained popularity with the new meaning, and the makers of such dolls deliberately altered the old form into the new meaning. The oldest object I came across is in the form of a round-shaped legless-and armless figure surviving is an earthenware *sancai* glazed whistle from a tomb dated to the time of the Tang Dynasty (Pacific Asia Museum, Pasadena, California, object number: 1995.102.5).

94 The text called in Korean Yeog'geun'gyeong which was said to have been found in the Qing period (1644-1911) in Shaolin Temple and related to Bodhidharma stresses the cultivation of the body as well as the mind. Probably this idea comes from Daoism. The Lokapāla (Defenders of the Buddhist Law) in East Asian iconography is said to show certain defending pose of the later gongfu [kung-fu] which is called 'arhat-pose' (Kim Cheol 1986:171). In Shaolin Temple in the Hall of the White Robe Avalokiteśvara a wall painting remains representing Indian and Chinese monks practising gongfu [kung-fu] (Date is not given by Choi, 1995: 76). The military monks used concentration and special mental techniques in martial arts. This could be a reason why the warrior rulers, the shōguns and the samurai in Japan particularly favoured Zen Buddhism. About the idea of 'Dao [Tao]' as used for martial arts in East Asian Aesthetics and Art Theories, see: Nishiyama 1992: 141-148.

95 About Huike see Chapin 1945-46. The calming of the mind (or in other words *anxin* dialogue first appears in the middle of the tenth century (See *Zutang ji* (Anthology of the Patriarch Hall) dated 952).

96 The number of his disciples differs in the various written sources. In the beginning of the formation of the legend we can find only two disciples. See *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (645), *Chuan fabao ji* (710), *Lengqie shizi ji* (ca. 730). Later from the second half of the eighth century the number of disciples increase. Three are mentioned in the *Lidai fabao ji* (740), but four in the *Baolin zhuan* (801), *Zutang ji* (952), *Jingde chuandeng lu* (1004), and in *Chuan fa zhengzong ji* (1061). But there is only one disciple mentioned in sources like *Liuzu tan jing* (ca.830) and in *Song gaoseng zhuan* (988). The first mention of the 'flesh, bones and marrow' story can be found in the *Lidai fabao ji* (774) and it became a common part of the legend afterwards.

was the one who had grasped the marrow of the teachings, so he became the second Chinese Chan patriarch after Bodhidharma (who was considered the 28th Patriarch of Chan Buddhism).[97] This is so, because there is a story which traces back the Chan teachings to the time of the historical Buddha, when one day as he was sitting on a hill, he did not say a word, but only picked out a kumbala flower. Nobody understood this, except Mahākāśyapa, who became the second patriarch after Śākyamuni Buddha. And following this lineage Bodhidharma is the 28th in the Indian, and the first in the Chinese lineage of the Chan patriarchate.[98] Bodhidharma died before he could go back to his original homeland, some say that poison, given to him by his rivals, caused his death.[99] He was buried in North China, in a mountain called Xiangershan (Bear Ear Mountain).

Not so long after his death a Chinese Wei official, Song Yun[100] who was sent by the empress dowager in search for Buddhist works on his way back to China, saw Bodhidharma on Congling (Onion Range), in the Pamir Mountains going towards India holding one sandal in his hand.[101] When Song Yun told this story to the emperor, Bodhidharma's tomb was subsequently opened, but nothing was found in the tomb, except for one sandal, the pair of which Bodhidharma had been carrying.

But we also know from legends that Bodhidharma was reborn in Japan, where in the form of a beggar, he met Shōtoku Taishi, the famous prince, the great propagator of Buddhism in Japan, at the Kataoka crossroads.[102] They exchanged poems and the Prince gave him his mantle just as in the Western tradition St. Martin gives his coat to the beggar in whom he recognized Jesus Christ. On another day, the prince ordered his servants to check how this man was whom he had met the previous day, but the servants told him that the man was already dead. When the prince heard this story he became very sad and explained to his servants that the man he met was not a simple beggar, but a saint. He sent a messenger to the tomb, but the messenger came back with the news that the body was not there except for the mantle the prince had given to him.

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97 The enumeration of the patriarchs first appeared in the *Baolin zhuan* (801), according to which Bodhidharma is considered the 28th in the line. Later on this numbering became widely accepted.

98 *Dafan tianwang wenfa jieyi jing* (T. 2006:48. 325b7-12). "The book in which this incident is described is entitled *Sūtra on the Great Brahman King's Questioning Buddha to Dispel a Doubt,* but there exists no original text or any Chinese translation in the Tripitaka. It is highly probable that some early Chinese Chan scholar of the [Northern] Song Dynasty (960-1126) fabricated the tradition because Wang An-shih, a powerful minister under the emperor Shen-tsung, is said to have seen a book in the Imperial Library. There is, however, no evidence, as far as we know, pointing to the existence of the Sūtra in China. In Japan, there exist, in manuscript form, two different translations of that book, kept in secret veneration by some Zen masters, which have been proved to be fictitious by the present writer after his close examination of the contents." Nukariya Kaiten: *The Religion of the Samurai.* London: Luzac & Co., 1913:3

99 About Bodhidharma's poisoning by his rivals the earliest surviving document is from the eighth century (*Chuan fabao ji* dated around 710).

100 His travel record has been translated by Samuel Beal: *Travels of Fa-hsien and Sung-yun: Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India*, London, 1869) (Yampolsky 1967: 10-11)

101 The meeting of the Wei official with Bodhidharma first appears in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (645). But mentions of the shoe to claim the authenticity of identification of the man in the Pamirs with Bodhidharma only appears in the textual sources from the end of the eighth century (*Lidai fabao ji*, 774).

102 The original story which served as the basis of this legend is from the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicle of Japan), written in 720. The identification of the beggar with Bodhidharma has already appeared in the eighth century (Ihon Jōgū Taishiden, dated 771). Further details in Nishimura 1985: 299-310.

2. The Textual Sources in the Light of the Nature of the Bodhidharma-legend

There are quite a lot of biographical accounts of Bodhidharma and several works attributed to him. But we now know that the majority of these works can be regarded as apocryphal.[103] There are some scholars, such as Feng Youlan [Fung Yu-lan][104] and Paul Pelliot[105] who have denied the historical existence of Bodhidharma, and considered his figure a mere invention for religious purposes. My opinion is quite close to that of these scholars, but I cannot deny so absolutely any truth behind the legends and do not consider them a deliberate 'lie'. Based on the legends about Bodhidharma in the literary and pictorial sources we can suppose the existence of some persons coming from the West to China who are said to play some role in transmitting the Buddhist doctrine to the East. So I am rather convinced through the course of my research that the personality of Bodhidharma is an amalgamation of several persons coming from the West, and additionally that not only legends about Western monks and religious figures were mixed into the legend but the indigenous Chinese myths and beliefs and as a conduit for aspirations of religious power as well. And as a later phenomenon, there are accounts of Christian missionaries believing that this man from the West was familiar with Christianity, or more precisely, that he was a Christian apostle.

After the overview of the legend, in this chapter I attempt to summarize the most important textual sources related to Bodhidharma and through them show the nature of the legend and its dynamics. With these texts, I shall not go into detail unless their contents are important for my argument. I show how certain legendary elements appeared chronologically in the Bodhidharma-texts in the Appendix on the textual sources and in the Table of the Legend (p.131).

The earliest dated reference to Bodhidharma is preserved in the *Luoyang qielan ji* (Record of the Buddhist Monasteries of Luoyang) by Yang Xuanzhi in 547 CE. In this text at the discussion of the Yongning monastery we can read the following:

"In those days there was a monk from the West called Bodhidharma, a Persian, who had come to the central lands from remote and desolate parts. When he saw the golden discs reflecting the sunlight beyond the clouds and heard the bells in the wind sending their chimes up to the sky he chanted a eulogy and sighed with admiration for what was indeed a divine construction. 'In my 150 years,' he said, 'I have been everywhere and travelled in many countries, but a temple of this beauty cannot be found anywhere else in the continent of Jambudvīpa and all the lands of Buddha.' He held his hands together and chanted "namah" for several days on end."[106]

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[103] Sekiguchi 1957

[104] Fung 1953

[105] Pelliot 1923

[106] Jenner 1981:151

This record does not provide us with more details about Bodhidharma, so we cannot regard it as a biography, but it is an interesting source if we compare it with the later biographies of him. Among these the first dated text is the chapter about the dhyāna practitioners in the Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks, the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* compiled by Daoxuan (596-667) in 645. This compilation took the information about Bodidharma from an earlier reference accompanying the Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices, the *Erru sixing lun* and attributed it to Bodhidharma himself.[107] The biographical elements of the treatise are repeated in Daoxuan's Bodhidharma-biography.[108]
According to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* Bodhidharma was a South Indian monk who came to China during the Liu Song dynasty (420-479), from where he went to the north to the state of Wei (386-535). He taught meditation there, transmitted the Lankavatāra sūtra in four volumes and acquired two disciples, Daoyu and Huike. The text also emphasises Bodhidharma's age as over hundred and fifty years.

The next important textual source is from the year 710, the *Chuan fabao ji*, the Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Jewel. This text largely follows the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, but includes two additional stories, which became common afterwards in the Bodhidharma-biographies. One of these stories is the one that tells of the attempts of Bodhidharma's rivals to poison him. The other story talks about the Wei envoy Song Yun who on the way from India to China meets Bodhidharma in the Pamir Mountains going the opposite direction, towards India. After this report Bodhidharma's tomb was opened and found to be empty.

The next important textual source can be found in the text titled "On Establishing the True and False About the Southern School of Bodhidharma", the *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun*. This text records the attack of Shenhui (684-758) on the lineage of Shenxiu (606-706), which he called the Northern school. This text contains the first reference to Bodhidharma's encounter with the Liang emperor, Wudi (reigned 502-549) and speaks about the robe as a sign of the patriarchate which is handed down from one generation to another. It is hard not to see the didactic functions of these legends in the milieu of establishing and legitimising the new and radical current in Chan Buddhism, the teaching of the 'sudden enlightenment' conveyed by the Southern school. Its propagator was Shenhui, the later seventh patriarch, whose attempts to make his unknown 'illiterate' teacher Huineng accepted as the sixth patriarch led to a big and still pervading clash in the tradition of Chan Buddhism. As it was discussed in Chapter I.4, Shenhui used rhetoric and new didactic legends about Bodhidharma to make a contrast between the Northern and the Southern lineage, thus winning the self-created battle for dominance. In support for Buddhism Liang Wudi was the most famous ruler in China, and it was easy to use his figure as a symbol or parallel for the Northern lineage whose leaders enjoyed the high support of the imperial court in the time of Shenhui. Bodhidharma's figure was then used as a parallel for the Southern school, whose ideals lay in the importance given to the concept of immediate enlightenment. The emphasis on the patriarchal robe as an evidence of the true transmission of the teaching also played a very important role in this text at the time of the schism.

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[107] This treatise is regarded as apocryphal (Sekiguchi 1957) and its author is identified as Tanlin (Faure 1986/a; Jarand 1987).

[108] Faure 1986/a

The next important source is the *Record of the Dharma Jewel of the Successive Generations*, the *Lidai fabao ji* written in 774. In this text we can find Bodhidharma's meeting with Liang Wudi, as well as his rivals' attempts to poison Bodhidharma, which finally succeeded. The new elements in this text are that the number of Bodhidharma's disciples increases from two to three and we can read about the story of Bodhidharma asking them about how much they understood his teachings, and then telling these three in turn, that they grasped only the 'flesh', the 'bones', and last, Huike grasped the 'marrow' of his teachings and thus inherited the patriarchate.
The other addition is found in the story about the meeting of the Wei envoy and Bodhidharma in the mountains, where it is noted that Bodhidharma was wearing only one shoe, of which the pair was found in his empty tomb. So this story emphasises the miraculous resurrection of Bodhidharma mentioning tangible evidence, the single shoe. By the end of the eighth century the most important elements were present in Bodhidharma's biography, though some elements were added in later centuries.

Interestingly enough the most famous elements of the later Bodhidharma-biographies, like the crossing of the Yangzi river on a reed or the direct 'mind to mind' transmission of the teachings did not appear in the very early textual sources.[109] The ever-growing tendency of the legend is the most striking feature of the evolution of the Bodhidharma-representation, what we need to keep in mind in order to understand its dynamics.

3. Bodhidharma's name

The name 'Bodhidharma' is not a specific family name, but a religious, given name. 'Bodhi' is the tree under which Śākyamuni Buddha reached enlightenment, 'dharma' is the Buddhist teaching or law. As we can read in the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* Bodhidharma was a son of a king in India[110] and Prajñātāra, the 27th patriarch after Śākyamuni Buddha, ordained him, transmitted to him the Doctrine and the insignia of the Patriarchate, and gave him a new name 'Bodhidharma'.
"So he was then named Bodhidharma from his former name Bodhitārā and he was also known as Dharmatrāta."[111]

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109 Cf. Lachman 1993:244-245

110 Referring to Bodhidharma as a prince and thus connecting him with the historical Buddha Śākyamuni probably served to give Chan a strong claim to be regarded as an ancient and legitimate school of Buddhism.

111 The Gāndhāran monk of the Sarvastivādin School, Dharmatrāta has been called in Chinese Damo duolo (*Bukkyō Daijiten*: 3543). Bodhidharma has to be distinguished from him. Threfore the Bukkyō Daijiten gives Fa-jiao 'Law-teaching' as a translation of the Sanskrit Dharmatrāta. The Sanskrit *–tāra* has several meanings, one of which is *yan*, 'eye' (*Bukkyō Daijiten*: 3537). It also has been rendered into Chinese as *duoluo*. Therefore, the name Prajñātāra can be translated as the 'Eye of Wisdom', while the name Dharmatāra can be the equivalent of the 'Eye of Law (or the Doctrine)' About the names see Chapin 1945-46:69, note 14a.
There is also a custom according to which Buddhist disciples frequently take one syllable of their teacher's religious name. Chapin (1945-46:69, note 15) notes that both Bodhitāra and Dharmatāra contain one syllable of Prajñātāra's name.

There are other sources which suggest that the similarity of his name caused many to confuse him with other religious masters coming from the West. For example the Kashmirian monk Dharmatrāta, who was active in the beginning of the fifth century and to whom the dhyāna-sūtra (*Damo duoluo chan jing*) was attributed, was identified with Bodhidharma, and this made Dharmatrāta's lineage to become Bodhidharma's lineage, and the basis of the later Chan patriarchal tradition.[112] It is also interesting that Bodhidharma became known in Tibet as Bodhidharmatrāta.[113]

We often find shortened or truncated versions of his name like Bodhi or more commonly, Dharma (Damo, in Chinese). In the first case, he may be easily confused with one of his so-called rivals, Bodhiruci. The reason why these two persons could easily be confused with each other is the fact that Bodhiruci (fl. 508-537) was a translator of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, the sūtra which Bodhidharma was said to have transmitted to his first disciple, Huike. It is said that Bodhiruci and another monk, Guangtong, jealous of Bodhidharma's fame, tried to poison him several times, eventually succeeding.[114]

We also know that the Shaolin monastery was built for a certain Central Asian monk called Batuo,[115] so the connection of the monastery with a Westerner was a given fact, which could be later mixed into the Bodhidharma-legend. Professor Bernard Faure called my attention to the documents of the Tendai school's Miidera branch, where there is a mention of a deity called Shinra myōjin, who, like Bodhidharma lived in a cave on Songshan. His name "Shinra" is a reference to the Korean kingdom Shilla, an expression which meant that this deity was a 'foreign' one, just as Bodhidharma was also a foreigner in sixth-century China. According to the Chan tradition the spirit of Songshan who was sometimes called the 'King of Songshan' acquired the Chan teachings from the masters of the tradition of the Northern School of Chan Buddhism. The main temple of Songshan coincides with the same famous cave which is regarded to be the place where Bodhidharma spent nine years in meditation. Therefore, it seems very likely that folk imagination connected the Indian ascetic to the spirit of the given mountain. In visual arts in Korea mountain spirit is represented as an old man with a tiger and it is very possible that its iconography is rooted in the representation of the arhats similar to Bodhidharma.

The way Bodhidharma's name spelled out in Chinese also displays some interesting features which deserves our attention. I discuss this issue in the next chapter when dealing with the Bodhidharma image in the Long Roll of Buddhist Images, in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.[116]

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112 Faure 1993:132

113 Demiéville 1978: 43-49

114 See *Chuan fabao ji* (T.85, 1291) and the *Lidai fabao ji* (T.51, 2075, 180c) as the earliest written references. See Appendix: 3, 7; and the table of the legend (p.131)

115 Faure 1993:132-133

116 Chapter III.1.a.4

III. THE IMAGE
(The Way Bodhidharma Appears in Visual Imagery)

In this chapter I turn to the visual sources on Bodhidharma, the actual focus of my research. In the first part of this chapter I describe the different iconographical types of Bodhidharma and show examples of them from China, Korea and Japan. I then discuss the styles of paintings showing Bodhidharma.

1. Iconography of Bodhidharma

To those familiar with the images of East Asia it is very difficult sometimes to name depicted figures because of the lack of inscriptions, especially in the late phases of the development of certain iconographies. The reason is the tendency to use existing patterns and give them new meanings, as it happened for example to the Christ-representation in the Western culture in the early Middle Ages when the pagan Apollo-figure was used to represent Jesus Christ. Combining existing intellectual- and religious systems is an easier way to do rather than inventing completely new imagery. Therefore we find that artists often were inspired by previous visual models rather than relying primarily on textual sources. In many cases these textual sources themselves were also inspired by previously existent visual representations. As the meaning of the depicted figure changed in the mind of the artist and the surrounding society, inevitably certain forms merged and new pictorial representations were produced. It is crucial to be careful with the identification of the earliest images, because they can give us clues for the history of certain iconographical types.

Before starting to explore the Bodhidharma-images in depth it is important to delineate a frame for these images. This categorization can help us to look at the differences and similarities between images, but as we can see, this categorization cannot be a rigid structure as there are a lot of connections and overlapping features between certain types. A development of an iconography is an organic process, so we use this structure as an aid to gaining a clearer view.
We should not forget about the life of the image in its context; even though it is possible to discover the origins and the inner dynamism of a living legend, the cult and the beliefs in people's mind are an equally existing 'reality'.

In this thesis I have set up an iconographic framework to help to analyse Bodhidharma-images. This structure is firstly a formalist one which must be followed by contextual and legendary analysis.[117] Among the earliest images there are two distinct iconographic types which later on became intermingled. One is a beardless figure, the other type, the more popular representation, shows Bodhidharma as a bearded hairy stocky man with exaggerated foreign features often wearing a hood. The majority of the images of Bodhidharma are a half body or bust-portrait. (plate 1 (China), plate 2 (Japan) plate 3 (Korea).[118]

[117] This method is called 'iconology' pioneered by the famous art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) (Panofsky 1984).

[118] I introduce examples of the same iconography from China, Korea and Japan.

The other group includes full body portraits of the patriarch. In this group we can differentiate between standing and sitting images. Among the standing images we can find Bodhidharma's crossing the Yangzi river on a reed (plate 4 (China) plate 5 (Japan) plate 6 (Korea); carrying one shoe or sandal (plate 7 (China) plate 8 (Japan) plate 9 (Korea); the combination of the two or sometimes without any attributes (plate 10 (China) plate 11 (Korea) plate 12 (Japan). Among sitting images we can see Bodhidharma in a chair (especially in the earliest periods) (plate 13) or sitting in meditation. This can take place either in a landscape setting (plate 14) or out of time and space without indicating the background or the surroundings (plate 15). The landscape setting can be varied; for example in a cave (a more common version),[119] or situated under a tree,[120] or the combination of the two.

According to the type of representation we can differentiate between en-face, three-quarter profile, profile portraits, and representations showing Bodhidharma from the back. From the simplified profile and back-portraits in a timeless and spaceless setting developed a certain iconography, the 'one-brushstroke Bodhidharma' which, together with the circle (Jp. *ensō*) had an interesting religious-spiritual significance in Chan Buddhism (plate 16).

According to context one can find single Bodhidharma pictures as well as pictures as a part of a group or sometimes in which he is represented on the middle panel of a triptych. Among these the most ancient type is the group-representation. Emphasising the geneaology was not the only reason for group portraits. The multiplication of images also had a religious-spiritual significance.

a. The Earliest Images of Bodhidharma : Succession of the Patriarchate

The earliest images of Bodhidharma are very different from the well-known later images of the patriarch which show him as a strong, hairy Indian man with protruding eyes and a fierce expression. In contrast, early images portray him as monkly personage with shaven head, usually with only slight reference to his foreign origin. But apart from their different appearance from the later representations, the most important feature of these early images is that they show Bodhidharma in the context of the patriarchal lineage, at the moment of the transmission of the dharma. Though we don't have images extant before the twelfth century, we know that existing images closely follow earlier representations, which themselves often referred in turn to still earlier versions from which they were made.

One of the earliest references to a Bodhidharma-representation is from the first half of the ninth century, found in the Dunhuang version of the Platform Sūtra (*Liuzu tan jing*, ca. 830) where we can read that

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[119] Apart from the fact that cave temples were common in India and China, they have a certain symbolism which also plays a role in interpreting the Bodhidharma-imagery. I discuss it in detail in my thesis later (Chapter III.1.b).

[120] Sitting under a tree can be a reference to Śākyamuni Buddha's enlightenment. But this element can be found in the life story of Buddha's contemporary, Mahāvira, the founder of Jainism as well (Eliade 1997: 71).

"In this corridor they intended to present paintings of stories from the Lankāvatāra Sūtra, together with paintings of the five eminent patriarchs transmitting the robe and the dharma, so that they might remain as a remembrance for later generations."[121]

A still earlier reference to a depiction by the eighth-century painter Chen Hong is recorded in an entry of the Inventory of the imperial painting collection compiled during the reign of the emperor Huizong (*Xuanhe huapu*, compiled around 1120). Chen Hong's painting is entitled as 'Portraits of the Six Patriarchal Chan Masters' (*Liuzu chanshi xiang*).[122]
Yet another comparatively early reference is to Li Gonglin (1049-1106), the famous Northern Song literati painter, who was also entrusted to do a work entitled 'Patriarch Transmitting the Dharma Robe' (*Zushi chuan shou fayi*).[123]

In the following chapter I introduce the earliest extant Bodhidharma-images showing him in the context of the patriarchal succession.

1. The Kōzan-ji- Bodhidharma (thirteenth century copy of a Chinese woodblock print dated 1054)
2. The Kanchi-in Bodhidharma. Illustration of the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* (1154 copy of the Chinese original dated 1061)
3. The Daigō-ji Bodhidharma (1150)
4. The Bodhidharma of the Long Roll of Buddhist Images (Yunnan; painted by Zhang Shengwen, act. ca. 1173-1176)

The first three paintings share three features in common: they were executed with simple line drawing; they follow earlier Chinese models; and they are now in Japan. The fourth painting is detail from a twelfth century coloured and elaborate style painting made in the Dali kingdom (Present day Yunnan province in Southwest China).

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121 Yampolsky 1967:128-129; Appendix: 9

122 Cahill 1980

123 Meyer 1923: chapter III/63. Cf. *Xuanhe huapu*.Taipei: Shijie, 1974:161, 207
About the symbolism of the transmission of the robe, see Faure 1995: 335-369

1. The Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma

The earliest prototype of Bodhidharma is a thirteenth century drawing owned by the temple called Kōzan-ji, Toga no o (near Kyōto) (plate 13).[124] Although the provenance of the prototype of this drawing is unclear, Fontein and Hickman (1970:1-5) think it possible that it is based on a copy of a Chinese print which was made by the well-known monk Jōjin (1011-1081), who departed for China in 1072, never to return. The next year, according to his diary, he visited the *Chuanfayuan* at Luoyang. There he borrowed a set of representations of the Six Patriarchs from the sūtra repository; he returned the originals the next day and immediately had his copies sent off to Japan. The Chinese woodblock print from which the copy was made from is dated 1054. We know this from the lower left corner of the thirteenth century drawing. This consists of six drawings in ink sketched on two large sheets of paper,[125] and illustrates the transmission of the Chan doctrine from Bodhidharma to Huineng. The scenes as they now appear move alternately right and left down the page, and can be identified as follows:

Bodhidharma, the first Patriarch and Huike (upper right); Sengcan, the third patriarch (middle right); Daoxin, the fourth patriarch (middle left); Hongren, the fifth patrtiarch (lower right); Huineng, the sixth patriarch (lower left). Each scene is accompanied by a brief inscription naming the given patriarch and his posthumous title, and identifying the other figures represented around him.

Bodhidharma is seated in a high-backed wooden chair and holds a staff in his left hand. His left foot is on the ground, while the right one is pulled back and resting on the chair's bottom cross-rung. Interestingly enough his right foot has slipped out of his sandal, which remains on the ground. According to Lachman's interpretation it can be a subtle allusion to the one sandal legend of Bodhidharma.[126] The First Patriarch is surrounded by several of his pupils. Huike (traditional

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[124] "The drawing bears the seal of the Kōzan-ji at Toga-no-o near Kyoto. During the lifetime of the founder Myō-e Shōnin (1173-1232), this temple became an important centre of artistic activity where Chinese paintings, drawings, book illustrations, and rubbings were copied. These Japanese copies often served as prototypes for Japanese paintings, and were an important intermediary in the transmission of Chinese iconography and styles of painting to Japan. Among the artists who worked for the Kōzan-ji were the abbot Genshō (1146- after 1208) of Kōyasan, Myō-e Shōnin's pupil E-nichibō (active first half of thirteenth century), and two lesser known artists by the names of Shunga and Kaneyasu. Although Mochizuki has tried to connect this drawing with E-nichibō, the painter to whom the famous portrait of Myō-e in meditation traditionally is attributed, there does not seem to be any clear stylistic evidence which would justify associating the drawing with any particular monk-copyist." (Fontein-Hickman 1970, no.1.p.4)

"Myō-e Shōnin, who revived the ancient Avatamsaka (Kegon) school, was deeply interested in the Chinese origins of his doctrine and is known to personally have copied a set of illustrations of the Gandavyūha, the basic text of this school. It is well known, however, that Myō-e also had a very favourable attitude towards Zen Buddhism. In fact, he is said to have told his pupils to go and seek the advice of Zen priests if they failed to understand some point of Buddhist doctrine. Myō-e also originated the so-called Daruma Kashiki, which is a ceremony in honour of Bodhidharma. It is therefore not surprising to find a representation of the Six Patriarchs of the Bodhidharma School among the iconographic drawings of the Kōzan-ji." (Fontein-Hickman 1970, p.4)

[125] "Nothing is known of the original compositional format of this Chinese example. It is more than likely, however, that the copyist rearranged the six scenes from a set of six separate book illustrations or parts of a handscroll, copying them onto two sheets of paper. In the process, the artist may have simplified the original scenes." (Fontein-Hickman 1970, no.1, p.4)

[126] Lachman 1993: 250

dates, 487-593) kneels down in front of him. Blood gushes forth from the stump of his left arm, and the knife and the cut-off arm lie next to him on the ground. This is a simple, straightforward representation of Huike's famous act of self-mutilation when he cut off his left arm in order to demonstrate to Bodhidharma his earnest desire to seek instruction.[127]
The inscription in the upper-right hand corner of the print, which centres on the figure of Bodhidharma reads from right to left as follows:

> "The disciple Daoyu (?)[128] and the nun Zongchi. One (i.e. the first group).
> The first Patriarch Bodhidharma, posthumous title, Yuanjiao (Perfectly-rounded Enlightenment) Chanshi.
> The Second Patriarch [Huike] at the time when he was a practitioner."[129]

Behind Bodhidharma's chair stand three figures, two of whom are identified in the caption as his pupils; the hunch-backed Daoyu and the round-faced nun Zongchi. The third thin figure has quite long bushy hair and carries a bag is probably Daofu or an attendant. Though he is not named in the inscription accompanying this drawing, he is often mentioned in connection with Daoyu and Zongchi.[130] These three disciples were present when Bodhidharma transmitted the robe to Huike, thereby appointing him as his official successor.
In the lower left corner of the sheet there is an inscription copied directly from the printed Chinese prototype on which this drawing is based which indicates that the Chinese original was printed in the year 1054. This inscription giving the date has been added in a rather haphazard and crowded fashion in the lower left-hand corner:

> "The first day of the eleventh month of the first year of Zhihe (1054), the printing was begun and the Palace eunuch of the Palace Domestic Service Chenlu presented (the plan of the work ?) for the Emperor, who put the matter under his control."

Huike appears here as a youth in lay dress. He kneels before Bodhidharma, the blood still flowing from the stump of his left arm. Lying between him and the Master, to Huike's left, is the severed

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127 "This is the later, canonical version of the story, which superseded the more prosaic explanation that Hui-k'o lost his arm in a fight with bandits. The story also varies in other details, and one of these minor variations seems to have been followed here. Hui-k'o is represented in secular garb and headdress, suggest that the artist may have followed a version which did not describe him as an ordained monk." (Fontein-Hickman 1970, p.2) However, I show in my thesis that it is not necessary to look for textual sources for this representation. We can find visual sources for such a scene amongst the famous arhat-paintings showing the seated arhat surrounded by devotees (See Lu Lengjia scroll, in Beijing as an example, plate 18b).

128 The character following *dao* is not so clear. Daoyu is frequently given with the nun Zongchi among Bodhidharma's pupils. The name Daofu which is given by Fontein-Hickman (1970:2), cannot be hold as correct. The often repeated story of the degrees of success of these two, who acquired respectively the skin and flesh of the Master's teaching, whereas Huike alone penetrated to the marrow can be a reassuring evidence for that. Qisong gives this story in *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* (Suzuki, Essays, first series, p. 177; Chapin 1945-46, pp. 75-78).

129 The lighter three character in an oblong cartouche is the seal of the temple, Kōzan-ji which possesses the drawing.

130 *Baolin zhuan; Zutang ji; Jingde chuandeng lu*, etc.

arm, and to his right, the knife or sword with which he accomplished the grim sacrifice. This representation is also the only example known which shows Huike in lay dress. In the majority of the surviving depictions and written accounts Huike is always represented as a monk. In Qisong's account, he is usually called Shenguang (sometimes Sengke, which really means, 'The Monk Ke'), and he was said to have been forty when he met Bodhidharma.[131] However, Suzuki states,

> "Sometimes this man [who afterwards became Huike] is said to be a civilian, and sometimes a soldier embracing Confucianism."[132]

Suzuki gives no references and there are no known texts following this version. So there came to be a tradition according to which the man who was to become Bodhidharma's disciple Huike came to Bodhidharma as a layman.[133]
We can see that a lay person in front of a Buddhist master was a common representational type in the Song dynasty (and probably its precursors in earlier times). For example Liu Songnian's hanging scroll of an Arhat (dated 1207) show a very similar composition (plate 17).[134]

The origin of the Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma-iconography

My suggestion for the explanation of the iconographical type of the Kōzan-ji scroll is based on the common roots of the patriarch-representations and the arhat-paintings. Buddhist arhats had very much in common with the Chan patriarchs. Chinese men together with foreign (Western) personalities, represented in groups, surrounded by admirers were already a popular topic in the time of the Tang Dynasty.
The six album leaves attributed to Lu Lengjia (active ca. 730-758), (Palace Museum, Beijing) (plate 18 and 110) carries the signature of this famous Tang painter, but Evelyne Mesnil has shown this image was in fact made in the Song period.[135] It seems possible that this composition had already existed in an earlier form. Lu Lengjia was the most ancient and most prolific artist in the eighth century. Lu Lengjia originated in Chang'an, the Tang Dynasty capital and was a pupil of the near-legendary figure painter Wu Daozi (act. c. 710- 760). He painted with such virtuosity and power that Wu Daozi praised him as his equal. During his lifetime he specialized in Buddhist paintings and sūtra-illustrations and is recorded as having painted wall paintings in Chang'an, Luoyang and Chengdu.[136]

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131 Daoxuan, who wrote in the middle of the seventh century, gives the age of the future Huike at the time he met Bodhidharma as forty. Qisong, in his biography of Huike, gives some interesting details with regard to the name 'Kuang' by which he was known before he became a monk and to that of "Shenguang" which was his name in religion under his first Master, also with regard to five lumps which appeared on Huike's head and connected him to the Bodhisattva Manjuśri. (Chapin, 1945-46, pp. 75-78)

132 Suzuki Daisetz Teitarō: Essays 1st series, p. 176, note 2

133 About the layman-tradition of Huike see an article by Mochizuki (Mochizuki Shinkyō, who compiled the five-volume *Bukkyō daijiten*), published in *Hōun*: 3 (cf. Watanabe Hajime, "Dembō Shōju Teiso zukan" (Chuanfa zhengzong dingzu tujuan), *Bijutsu kenkyū* 33 (1934): 437), (Chapin, 1945-46, pp. 75-78).

134 National Palace Museum, Taipei (Published: Bo Songnian 1997 No.36)

135 Mesnil 1999: 67-69

'The Six Venerables' conserved in the Palace Museum, Beijing, is an album consisting of six leaves, each 30 x 53 cm. The figures are represented wearing monk's robes, usually sitting on chairs and surrounded by attendants and worshippers. On one leaf we can see a tiger and on another a dragon around the main figures. On every leaf, in the right bottom corner we can read Lu Lengjia's name. The other inscriptions are the represented personalities' names and their number in the set written in Chinese and Tibetan. So, these persons can be identified as the third, the eighth, the eleventh, the fourteenth, the seventeenth and the eighteenth arhats.[137] We can find between 26 and 37 seals on each leaf. Each seal was added when the mounting was changed. Interestingly enough we cannot find seals earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century. This and the presence of the seventeenth and the eighteenth arhat, which started to be represented only from a later period in addition to the usual sixteen arhats, and the styles of the furniture on the paintings showing pieces more typical of the Song than the Tang period suggest it was painted in this later period.[138] So, these elements make it doubtful that these paintings are the authentic works of Lu Lengjia. Probably these album leaves mixed the archaic portraits of monks of Tang with surroundings of the Song.

On the leaf representing the eighth arhat (plate 18.b) we can see the same composition as the drawing of Bodhidharma image at the Kōzan-ji temple which has been discussed above. The seated position, the staff in the hand, the slightly bending posture, the legs with the sandals where the right foot is lifted - stress the parallels between these images. The worshipping figure in front of this arhat is a layman with foreign features wearing a turban and offering corals as we can see on several paintings from the Song dynasty, for example a twelfth century painting showing Pilgrims Offering Treasures to Arhats by Zhou Jichang in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, from the series of Five Hundred Luohan at the Daitoku-ji (plate 19).

Bodhidharma's Teeth

This painting is interesting from other aspects as well. For example the red robed arhat in the background reflects another type of Bodhidharma; a stocky, red-robed bearded figure with a gap in his two front teeth.[139] This feature can be seen on several paintings of Bodhidharma, for

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136 About Lu Lengjia in the earlier Chinese sources, see: Mesnil 1999, pp. 67-69; cf. Huang Xiufu: *Yizhou minghua lu* (preface 1006) (Beijing, Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964, 1, pp. 8-9), about the famous painters in Shu between 756-965. Under the name 'Important Master Monks Propagating the Dharma' Fan Chengda (1126-1193): *Chengdu gusi mingbi ji* (in: *Quan Shu yiwen zhi* (1541), cf. Yang Shen, ed., *Zhangshi xiao shulou* (1817), 42, p. 3a-b)

137 Cahill 1980, pp. 15-16, Their names differ from the list given by Nandimitra. (*Da a luohan Nantimiduolo suoshuo Fazhu ji* (T. 1924-1935, XLIX, 2030, p. 12c-14c), transl. Chavannes 1916: 189-304. This representation is said to be reflecting the Tibetan text given by the Qianlong Emperor (1736-1795) (Mesnil 1999: 68).

138 Cf. the Chinese furniture dated to the Song period conserved at the Shōsōin, Nara. Kimura Norimitsu (ed): *The Treasures from the Shōsōin: Furniture and Interior furnishings,* Kyōto, Shikōsha, 1992: 10-12, 16-18, 56-61; *Nihon no Bijutsu* 11, no. 294 (1990), pl. 4 and 13-15 (Mesnil 1999: 69).

139 About Bodhidharma's missing front teeth we can read in the commentaries for the *Biyanlu*.
The story about Bodhidharma's missing teeth is follows:
Sengguang (the future Huike) was preaching the dharma, having many followers. Once Bodhidharma came to hear him preaching and asked Sengguang a perplexing question what he could not answer.

example on a half body representation from the Yuan dynasty, now in a Japanese private collection (plate 20).[140] The Indian-looking stocky man - a foreign prince - with the prominent two front teeth we can already find in the Dunhuang Cave Temples in the mid-Tang period (plate 21). This representational mode became popular in depicting arhats with foreign features, for example the same type of teeth can be seen on the painting of the Arhat Kanakavatsa on the set of the sixteen arhats in the collection of the Honolulu Academy of Arts. This painting set was probably made in Japan around 1350-1400, and followed models of the Song period (plate 22).[141]

Bodhidharma's Nose

The compositional type we saw on the Lu Lengjia-paintings was very popular in the Southern Song dynasty and later in Japan (plate 23).[142] We have seen that the arhat-painting by Liu Songnian (fl. 1170s- early thirteenth century) (plate 17) shows a very similar seated figure, holding a staff in his hand, wearing the same monks' robe as we can see on the Bodhidharma-picture of Kōzan-ji as well as on the Lu Lengjia - album leaf. The only feature of the Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma which cannot be compared to the Lu Lengjia and the Liu Songnian paintings is the nose. The Lu Lengjia and the Liu Songnian paintings show a figure with a particularly long nose stressing the foreign origin of that person. But Bodhidharma's nose on the Kōzan-ji - picture is fairly short, as if he were Chinese rather than a foreigner from the West. This is the very feature that scholars like Chapin, and under her influence other scholars seem to emphasize, when dividing Bodhidharma images into two distinctively different groups: one with Chinese and one with Indian, grotesque features. But I believe that Chapin did not use the label 'Chinese' very carefully, and her categorization is not always accurate in this sense. Instead of using the labels Chinese or Indian, she should rather have reflected distinctions between the group of images, where Bodhidharma is slender and usually beardless; and in contrast the images in the other group that show a hirsute, stocky bearded man, with his grotesque, foreign features emphasized. In my

Taking it as a challenge of his faith by the evil Māra, he threw his rosary at Bodhidharma and hit him in the front teeth. Bodhidharma's teeth were pulled out, but Bodhidharma knew that as he himself a holy man, if his blood reached the ground, it would become infertile for a long time. Therefore, he pitied the residents of that area, and swallowed his teeth. That is the reason why Bodhidarma has broken teeth. (This story was told me by the Chinese monk Langcheng as a popular Chan legend, in June 2003). In China the saying *Dia diao ya chi wang du li yan* ("You must hold back your temper, even though you know why you were beaten") can be connected to this story (heard from Xing Rong Yun). An inscription on a red-robed Bodhidharma-painting by Ganseki Donsei (d. 1376), a Japanese abbot of the Kennin-ji, Kyōto also refers to the broken teeth incident of Bodhidharma. Interestingly enough the Bodhidharma figure on his painting has firmly closed mouth, so the inscription was not inspired by the painting itself on which it was written (plate 88).

140 Suzuki Kei 1983: Vol. 4., JP 12-157

141 The British Museum owns a painting of the arhat Ingada, which is exactly the same type as the one on the Honolulu Academy collection's set. So we can conclude that this model was very popular in Japan and several copies were made based on that Song model. (The Honolulu Academy painting has been published by Little 1991: No.12; for the British Museum image Whitfield, R., in Watson W. ed., *Mahayanist Art after 900*, Percival David Foundation, London 1971; Smith, L., Harris, V., Clark, T., *Japanese Art: Masterpieces in the British Museum.* London: The British Museum Press, 1990: 46, no. 37.; Hirayama, I., Kobayashi T. (eds), *Hizō Nihon Bijutsu taikan*, vol.1. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1992, no.51. and see http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass

142 In Japan we can see the same figures as on the Lu Lengjia scroll on several arhat-paintings, for example a pair of hanging scrolls from the Muromachi period (plate 23).

thesis I show that the origin of these two different types is the same; they are both rooted in the depiction of the arhats.

2. The Kanchi-in Bodhidharma

An illustration for the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji,* owned by the Kanchi-in subtemple of the temple called Tō-ji, in Kyōto shows Bodhidharma and Huike with a very similar manner as the Kōzan-ji representation, though Huike here is a monk rather than a layman (plate 24).[143] This illustrated scroll was originally a part of the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji*[144] which was compiled by the famous Northern Song monk Fori Qisong (1007 or 1011- 1072).[145] Unfortunately this representation is again only known to us as a copy. This copy was made by a Japanese monk called Jōen in the fourth year of Ninpyō (1154).[146] According to Watanabe the illustrations follow a rubbing from a stele erected in 1064 in Suzhou at the Longevity Hall, or Wanshou Chanyuan, where the first edition of the text by Qisong was printed in the same year.[147] But I believe that it is more likely that, as Chapin thinks, the stele was based on the original of the scroll. Then later the rubbing was used to reproduce the illustration for the text.[148] Chapin thinks that the illustration was probably

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143 This scroll has been published by Watanabe Hajime in the *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 33 (September, 1934), pp. 435-8, with two plates, one showing Bodhidharma and Huike (with part of the following group which features Huike as the 29th Patriarch); the other showing the end of the scroll with the signature of the calligrapher and painter (in one person);-and the statement that the scroll was copied from one in the possession of Jitsunin.) (Chapin, 1945-46, pp. 78-85)

144 The *Chuanfa zhengzong dingzu tujuan*, "Illustrated scroll [featuring] the established patriarchs of the Correct School Transmitting the Doctrine"; constitutes one of the twelve *juan* of the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji*. This book consists of three parts: the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji*, the *Chuanfa zhengzong dingzu tujuan* and the *Chuanfa Zhengzong lun*; "Discourses of [the Masters of] the Correct School Transmitting the Doctrine". The edition of the work which is incorporated in the Tripitaka unfortunately doesn't contain any illustrations (T. 51. 768-73). The Taishō Tripitaka publishes these three works separately (nos. 2078, 2079 and 2080 respectively), but originally the first title included all three (Chapin 1945-46, pp. 78-85).

145 Herbert Franke (ed.): *Sung Biographies*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976: I. pp.185-194.

146 The inscription at the end of the Kanchi-in scroll informs us that it was copied by Jōen in the Zazen-in (Contemplation Hall) of Zenrin-ji (A large and famous temple belonging to the Jōdo ("Pure Land" School in Kyōtō, cf. Bukkyō Daizōkyō 3011-2, (Chapin 1945-46, pp. 78-85) on the thirteenth day of the seventh month of the fourth year of Nimpyō (1154) after a scroll in the possession of Jitsunin. Jitsunin was the son of the Minister of the Right; Kono (?), and that he (Jitsunin); after receiving the Doctrine transmitted to him by Kakusho Ho Shinno (The fifth son of Emperor Toba, (b. 1129, d. 1169) Cf. Bukkyō Daizōkyō 412-3); became Abbot of Ninna-ji (an important temple belonging to the Shingon sect in Kyoto. Cf. Bukkyō Daizōkyō 4117). But we have no information about Jōen. Another Jōen (same characters) given in the Bukkyō Daizōkyō (2705 a) lived about a century later (Chapin 1945-46, pp. 78-85).

147 The *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* and its contents are discussed by Chapin following Watanabe's article. We can get some information about the first two printed editions of this book as well. The first was a private printing in the Wanshou Chanyuan in Suzhou in 1064. The second printing, made on account of the loss of the original book took place in the Kaiyuan-si in Fuzhou, probably in 1164, based on a copy of the privately printed edition around in 1104. We don't know whether or not these editions contained illustrations. Chapin thinks that the 1064 edition did (Chapin 1945-46, pp.78-85).

148 Chapin, ibid.

made by Qisong, the writer of this text himself or made following his drawings.[149] The scroll consists of thirty three panels, representing the twenty-eight Indian and the five Chinese patriarchs of the meditative school of Buddhism. The patriarchs occupy one panel each, seated on a chair, while their heirs kneel in front of them. Only Huineng, the sixth patriarch, is represented with five monks around him. Each panel is divided into two sections each horizontally, with the pictures placed in the upper part accompanied by a brief biography of each patriarch and a transmission verse in the lower part.
The inscription under the picture of Bodhidharma and Huike is the following:

> "The 28th Patriarch Bodhidharma. (he was not always called by the same name, e.g. [he was known by] three or four other names such as Dharmatārā). He was a native of South India; surnamed, Sha-ti-li [i.e., Ksatriya] , and the son of his country's king. He entered the priesthood under Prajnātārā, and received the Doctrine transmitted by him. It is said that this Doctrine was that which had been handed down from Guanyin Pusa. After sixty-seven years, cherishing the Doctrine, he went East to Zhendan (China): What he handed down was: 'Point straight at the mind of the man. Let him understand [his true] nature and become Buddha [Enlightened].' He did not depend on writing. In the beginning, he went to Liang. Because there was no opportunity for him there that he went on to Northern Wei. He stayed in Songshao [i.e., in Shaoshi, a part of Songshan in Henan province] for nine years. There he obtained [as disciple] Huike who followed him in seeking the Way. Afterwards, he actually transmitted the Great Doctrine to Huike and gave him the robe and bowl as tokens [of the Patriarchate]. He was thus the first Patriarch to transmit the Doctrine on behalf of this land [China]. Afterwards, he went to Shaolin (also near Songshan in Henan), where he entered Nirvāna: The gāthā by which he transmitted the Doctrine is: I originally came to this land and transmitted the Doctrine which saves from illusionary passions. One flower opens its five petals, and the fruit [of Enlightenment or Deliverance] perfects itself [or naturally ripens]."[150]

On the Bodhidharma-panel Huike appears as a monk, kneeling in front of the Master, holding the robe and the begging bowl, the insignia of the patriarchate. On a long-legged table between him and Bodhidharma lies his severed arm discreetly covered by a cloth which leaves the hand a little visible. In contrast, on the Kōzan-ji drawing the presence of the knife is unusual, as is the casual location of the arm on the floor instead of being decently wrapped and placed in a dish or basket on a table as in later representations of the legend like here.

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149 Chapin, ibid.

150 Text below picture, also T. 51.77

3. The Daigō-ji Bodhidharma

A relatively unknown early example of Bodhidharma-representation can be found in a handscroll titled 'Portraits of Patriarchs and Masters of the Three Countries'(plate 25).[151] This scroll was made in Japan in the sixth year of Kyūan which corresponds to the year 1150. This composition probably also follows earlier patterns. Takahashi's research shows that this scroll was patterned directly from the earlier work by the Shingon monk Ningai (951-1046), which, again can be a copy or reference to an earlier Chinese prototype.[152] The scroll shows forty-six figures altogether, each of them accompanied by an identifying inscription.

The first eight figures represent the patriarchs of the Shingon (Ch. Zhenyan) school, followed by eleven of the most eminent teachers of the school; all of them active in the ninth century. This gives us a reference to the date of the original, from which the copy was made. After the Shingon masters, six patriarchs of the meditative school can be seen, amongst them Bodhidharma, the first patriarch. These are followed by twenty-one figures of monks, bodhisattvas, and other prominent persons, among them the Japanese prince Shōtoku Taishi (574-622).

The composition showing Bodhidharma and Huike appears as a separate unit. Bodhidharma is again placed on the right half of the picture, while Huike is placed on the left. The difference between this image and the previously seen two examples is that Bodhidharma is seated on the floor rather than a chair; thus his figure is at the same height as his successor Huike, who occupies the adjacent frame. In this arrangement it is only Bodhidharma's right hand, lifted slightly for a teaching mudra exactly in the same fashion as on the Kōzan-ji and Kanchi-in Bodhidharma figures which indicates that Bodhidharma was Huike's master. The difference is that the Daigō-ji Bodhidharma does not hold a staff in his left hand but rather places his hand above his lap performing another mudra. Bodhidharma's head is again shaved, but more round and we cannot find exaggerated foreign features in his appearance. Huike's figure is very similar to that of Bodhidharma's, their nose and eyes are depicted in almost exactly the same way. Only around their neckline it is indicated that Bodhidharma is older than Huike, with the loose skin around his neck delineated. Huike's robe leaves his left shoulder bare to emphasize his arm stump, while next to his figure to the right lies his cut-off left arm surrounded by an irregular outline, which is supposed to be a piece of cloth. In front of him, under the mutilated arm are placed Huike's shoes drawn in a very abbreviated way. It is interesting that Bodhidharma's footwear is not indicated in the drawing. The two figures facing towards each other seem as if they are in conversation, indicated by their open mouths and lifted arms. On the inscription to the right of Bodhidharma he is associated with the East Mountain Teaching (*Dongshan fa*) as a reference to the fourth and fifth patriarchs respectively.[153]

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151 Takahashi Masataka: *Sangoku soshi ei no kenkyū* (Study on the "Portraits of Patriarchs and Masters of the Three Countries"), Kyōto: Benrido, 1969; in English only published by Lachman 1993: 246-247

152 There are later copies of the scroll, but the 1150 one is the earliest. Lachman 1993:246; cf. Takahashi 1969

153 The fourth patriarch Daoxin (580-651) and the fifth patriarch Hongren (606-674) who lived on Dongshan (East Mountain). McRae 1986: chapter 6. (see Chapter I.4. in this thesis for details about the East Mountain school and the early history of Chan Buddhism)

4. Bodhidharma in the Long Roll of Buddhist Images

One of the earliest Bodhidharma images executed in a more elaborate detailed manner is a long roll in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (plate 26). The roll is 51 feet (15.3 meters) long and painted with colours on mulberry paper. The painting is dated between 1173 and 1176 and is attributed to Zhang Shengwen in a colophon written in 1180 by the monk Miaoguang.[154] The long roll was made in the Hou Li (Later Li) kingdom (1096-1253), which was situated in present-day Yunnan. Hou Li was then a semi-independent kingdom to the south of China. This kingdom at that time absorbed more Indian-Nepalese influence than Chinese. An interesting feature of the roll is that it shows Tantric elements together with other Buddhist schools such as the Chan school. This painting is a good example to support my thesis, that the origins of Bodhidharma representation was a derivation of the representations of the arhats.

The long roll contains several representations of different divinities; Śākyamuni Buddha; the sixteen arhats; a group of the three assemblages of Maitreya Buddha and a text with illustrations of his twelve vows; numerous other Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, devas and guardians; Manjuśri and Vīmalakirti; and the patriarchs of the Chan school in a group of sixteen figures. Among the latter, ten can be identified exactly as Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, Huineng, Shenhui and finally Huizhong (ca. 756-779). These ten figures are referred to in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (Record of the Transmission of the Flame) compiled by Daoyuan after 1004. The names of the other six figures cannot be clearly identified. Chapin argues that these six figures were probably monks from Yunnan around that time.
Bodhidharma on the long roll is seated cross-legged in a wooden chair.[155] The chair is situated under a tree which stretches over Bodhidharma as a natural canopy and extends into the adjacent leaf. On a branch a peacock is sitting, whose pair is seen flying towards it above the adjacent leaf representing Ananda. In front of Bodhidharma a phoenix-like bird can be seen. The background is wavy, indicating the sea.[156] Bodhidharma has dark skin, from the skinny lines on his chest we suppose his old age. He wears a white cloth under his patchwork style kaşaya. With his right hand he is pointing to the robe he holds with his left, and turning slightly towards the smaller lighter skinned Chinese figure (who must be Huike). In front of Bodhidharma, to the left, there is a small table covered with a drapery, and on the top of it in a tray we can see Huike's cut-off arm wrapped in a cloth. On the next leaf (No.45) Huike can be seen separately, as the second patriarch. His left arm is missing from his elbow, and his face is identical to the small figure on the Bodhidharma leaf.

Bodhidharma's Name in the Inscriptions

Bodhidharma's figure can be clearly identified by the inscription on the upper left corner, though it is interesting to note that the character *mo* is not the most common transcription of

154 Chapin 1971:56

155 Chapin 1971: no.44, pl.19.

156 The presence of the sea in the background is more obvious on the adjacent leaf, representing Ananda, where cliffs are depicted on the right top corner where the waves of the sea are washing the shore.

Bodhidharma's name, although it can also be found elsewhere. For example this character is used in the Ming printed Encyclopaedia the *Sancai tuhui* (An Encyclopaedia of Arts and Sciences) (plate 27).[157] We can find the same transcription on a painting by Heo Ryeon (1809-1892) (plate 104).[158] Interestingly enough, other Korean paintings following the *Sancai tuhui*'s composition, show quite an inconsistency in their inscriptions. These paintings write Bodhidharma's name with the 'hand' radical (e.g. Shin Jeong-ha's (1680-1715) colophon on Un Lim-ja's painting dated 1698) (plate 100).

This is further confused by the fact that the *Sancai tuhui* also uses another mo character, (with the 'stone' radical) in the illustration for the meditation scene. Yanagida Seizan argues that the way Bodhidharma's name was transcribed into Chinese shows the different perceptions of his personality.[159] Yanagida says, from the Song period, in the *Jingde chuadeng lu* compiled in 1004 we can find that Bodhidharma's name is written with the character with the 'stone' radical. But in the Tang documents from Dunhuang the *mo* character in Bodhidharma's name is usually written with the 'hand' radical.[160] Yanagida thinks that the Tang dynasty character with the 'hand' radical refers to Bodhidharma as a historical person, while the character with the 'stone' radical common in the Song Dynasty refers to a more miraculous saintly being, like a god.[161] Though I accept the fact that in the Song period Bodhidharma became a demi-god or a saint, I cannot see a direct connection with the transcription of his name with this or that radical. As we have seen in the Long roll and in the *Sancai tuhui*, other characters were also used for the *mo* element of Bodhidharma's name and therefore I see no rule for using the 'stone' radical for Bodhidharma as a god, and the 'hand' radical when referring to him as a human being, a historical personality. In the textual source, the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, as Yanagida says the 'stone' radical is used. However, the long roll which follows this text uses a third character for Bodhidharma's name that is not mentioned by Yanagida at all.

The Halo Around Bodhidharma's Head

An interesting feature of the Long Roll Bodhidharma is that the arhats and patriarchs on the long roll have a halo around their head. This is in contrast with the other early drawings of

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157 In part 60. 'Eulogy of the Personality of Bodhidharma'. Here Bodhidharma is depicted as a bearded foreigner in the middle of a circle crossing on a reed, wearing robe and hood. *Sancai tuhui*, comp. by Wang Qi and Wang Siyi. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988: 335

158 This painting is also interesting from other aspects as well It shows a young monk meditating on a rock plateau. Behind him there are two branches of a tree. The composition is very possible inspired by the Chinese Encyclopaedia, the *Sancai tuhui*, not directly, but through other paintings. I will show in the chapter dealing with the Korean Bodhidharma images that the meditating Bodhidharma in the *Sancai tuhui* had a great impact on the Korean imagery of Bodhidharma, and it was often depicted on the outside walls of temples. The painters of these paintings only followed the formal similarities regardless of the original stories for example ignoring the fact that Bodhidharma was an old man when he came to China. The misinterpretation of Bodhidharma as a young boy also occurred in the oeuvre of the famous Korean painter Kim Hongdo (1745-after 1814), and before that in the work of Shim Sajeong (1707-1769) who painted young boys crossing water on a reed.

159 Yanagida Seizan: *Daruma*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1998: 19-20

160 Yanagida thinks the reason is partly that the Tang documents in Dunhuang were hidden from view until their exploration in the twentieth century and therefore unavailable as models.

161 Yanagida 1998:20

Bodhidharma discussed in this chapter who do not have haloes. Accepting Yanagida's explanation[162] we would understand this feature as Bodhidharma being perceived as a god or a saint – as in the possible textual source for the long roll, the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, which Yanagida refers to as using a different transcription for Bodhidharma's name. This idea can be an interesting explanation since we have the older type of transcription on the Kōzan-ji scroll and here Bodhidharma does not have a halo. Therefore, following Yanagida's assumption, the Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma follows the sources prior to 1004, which is possible since we know that the four disciples and the famous dialogue between Bodhidharma and his disciples appeared in the sources as early as the eighth century.[163] But there are several questionable points regarding this issue. First, in the Kanchi-in illustration, where Bodhidharma follows the pattern used for the Kōzan-ji scroll, Bodhidharma is not shown with a halo, but in the text under the illustration his name is written with the characters which – according to Yanagida - are used to show the saintly, god-like nature of the founder. We know, that the text which the Kanchi-in scroll illustrates, the *Chuanfa zhengzhong ji*, was compiled by Fori Qisong and that it was a revision of the previous texts and illustrations on the topic. We can read an interesting passage from the essay or memorial presenting the work to the Emperor which precedes the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* (or rather forms the first part of it) (T 51.715) in Chapin's translation:

"In the mountains, formerly a search was undertaken for [portions of] the Tripitaka, whether sūtra or biographies, and the material found about those called members of the Ch'an sect and those called Buddhist Patriarchs was collated and revised. What were found to be actual errors, although written of old, had to be struck out; among details actually narrated, although the writings were old, a selection had to be made. Also, the differences in facts and dates with regard to the Patriarchs [especially Bodhidharma!], in books like the Chuan teng lu,[164] all the statements in a great number of biographies and long histories of many epochs, were collated and corrected in the compilation of this work, which consists of ten times several thousands of words. It was decreed [by the Emperor] that it should be called the Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi, that [the part with] traditionally handed down images showing the appearances of the Buddhist patriarchs should be called the Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung ting-tsu t'u, and that the collection of the teachings of the patriarchs at the end should be called the Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung lun. The whole consists of twelve chüan and one item with pictures of the so-called patriarchs painted on silk from Wu,[165] this item has evidently been lost."[166]

From the text we know that the Emperor Renzong of Song (reigned 1010-1063) gave his official approval to the list of Buddhist patriarchs drawn up by Qisong and sponsored by the Chan school. It is also an important fact that Qisong found a great deal of contradictory material, which he used or discarded according to his own judgment aided by the advice of other monks in the same temple, apparently including the Japanese monk Jōjin. This text also informs us that the illustrations for the *dingzu tujuan* were lost and are not in the Tripitaka. Therefore, the

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162 Yanagida 1998: 19-20

163 See the earliest extant example from the *Lidai fabao ji* dated 774.

164 I.e. the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (Chapin: "The Subjects of Ch'an Painting" *Leaves from a Western Garden*, 1.4. (1938), pp. 47-99, 49-50, note 1).

165 I.e., silk made in Suzhou.

166 T 51.715. Chapin 1945-46, pp. 78-85

illustrations of the Kanchi-in scroll would have been more appropriate in doctrinal terms, as for example Huike is shown as a monk rather than a layman. But the details (wavy outline and the double bottom edge of Bodhidharma's robe) show how much use of previous patterns influenced the new representations. The halo around Bodhidharma's head then cannot be regarded necessarily that he was considered a saint rather than as a historical person. In the Daigō-ji scroll Bodhidharma also does not have a halo but his name is transcribed with the 'stone' radical.

To summarize my observations I can agree with Yanagida that there was a change in transcribing Bodhidharma's name, a phenomenon that can be observed from about the beginning of the eleventh century, from the compilation of the *Chingde chuandeng lu.* This time roughly coincides with the change in perception in the personal features of Bodhidharma, where the more miraculous elements started to dominate his story. From the eighth century onwards some typically Chinese, miraculous elements started to appear in the Bodhidharma-legend.[167] But it was not until the beginning of the eleventh century when the transcription of Bodhidharma's name was changed. And I have shown that there was a third version of transcription which is not discussed by Prof. Yanagida.

5 Comparison Between the Early Representations

Robe

In the Long roll Bodhidharma is portrayed as a monk with shaven head wearing a kāṣāya, the patchwork design of which is clearly indicated. The same kind of monk's robe can be seen on the Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma, which was probably inspired by similar coloured paintings. On the other hand, the other two Bodhidharma-representations, the Kanchi-in Bodhidharma and the Daigō-ji Bodhidharma both show simplified compositions and were clearly designed to fit the *baimiao* style. I suspect that the Kanchi-in and Kōzan-ji Bodhidharmas followed directly or secondarily the same pattern, and that the Kōzan-ji composition should be called more authentic. The reason for my consideration can be the answer to the following questions concerning the unusual features of the Kanchi-in Bodhidharma. For example: why is the robe of Bodhidharma turned upwards in a curly way? And why is the lower edge of his robe doubled in an unrealistic way?
Though we know about the style of Yuchi Yiseng, a foreign painter under the Tang who painted Buddhist subjects with curly edges to the robes,[168] I can only explain these details by suggesting that they are a misinterpretation of the earlier patterns; patterns which probably had similar roots with the thirteenth-century copy of the 1054 dated Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma. At the shoulder the strangely curving line of the robe is surprisingly similar to the line of the chair presented on the Kōzan-ji composition; and at the bottom the double edge of the robe cannot be other than the misinterpreted lifted right foot of Bodhidharma above his sandal. The wavy robe around the knees also suggest the existence of a previous iconographical pattern which is more exactly followed by the Kōzan-ji copy.

[167] E.g. the one sandal-episode, which reflects Daoist immortal ideals.

[168] Seymour 1988: 605; See an example in Berenson collection, Villa I Tatti, Suzuki Kei 1983: E 5-003. However, I do not find its influence on the Kanchi-in style.

Chinese or Indian features?

The authors who wrote about these earliest images of Bodhidharma all emphasize that these figures possess more Chinese than Indian features. As I have referred to it briefly before, I would argue against this statement and modify it slightly. It is unquestionably true that later on the more Indian, a stocky hirsute figure became the dominant representational mode for Bodhidharma, which is very different from the early beardless slender patriarchal Bodhidharmas. But I cannot say that these early Bodhidharma figures were intended to represent Chinese personalities. It is just that they did not emphasize the foreign and extraordinary fierce features of the founder.
Though the *baimiao* drawings of the Kōzan-ji, Kanchi-in and Daigō-ji do not emphasise the foreignness of Bodhidharma, the Long Roll Bodhidharma does show certain foreign features. So in this sense I cannot agree with Chapin who discusses the Long Roll Bodhidharma as a Chinese figure.[169] Though Bodhidharma does not have a beard in this picture, nor does he have protruding eyes or prominent earrings, nevertheless he does posses Indian or foreign features. First of all his body colour is distinctively darker than the surrounding figures and other patriarchs and he has a long nose unusual among Chinese. He is more reminiscent of the Tang-style arhat paintings where we can find distinctively foreign or grotesque figures. At the time of the Tang Dynasty, foreigners were not so uncommon in the Empire, and with the adoption of Buddhist teachings from these foreigners, the Chinese native religious beliefs were also incorporated into the religious system. Therefore on these Tang period paintings which served as patterns to follow in the later generations we can find the distinctively foreign and grotesque figures next to the more Chinese creatures, like the immortals. In my thesis I intend to show that Bodhidharma was a direct descendant of these arhat representations and his figure and compositional style is a derivative of these Tang-period arhat-sets.

b. Meditating Bodhidharma

In the earliest portraits of Bodhidharma we encountered him in the context of the patriarchal succession. The other most ancient representational mode for his figure shows him meditating in a cave, in front of the wall or in a landscape setting.
As Fontein and Hickman noted, the term 'nine years facing the wall' for Bodhidharma's meditation (Ch. *Mianbi jiunian*) appears for the first time in textual sources in 1254 in the *Wujia zhengzong zan* ('Eulogies from the five Houses in the True School'). However, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* ('Record of the Transmission of the Lamp') compiled in the first year of Jingde (1004), says that Bodhidharma "stopped at the Shao-lin temple on Mount Sung. [There], facing the wall, he sat down. He remained utterly silent from one day to the next, and no one could fathom his behavior. He was called the 'wall-gazing Brahman'."[170]
The *Erru sixing lun* ('Treatises on the Two Entrances and Four Practices'), a treatise attributed to Bodhidharma, which remained in Song chronicles and is referenced in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*

[169] Chapin 1938: 1-67

[170] T. 51, 2076, 196-467. Quotation from Fontein and Hickman 1970:130-132

('Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks') talks about Bodhidharma's teaching recorded by his pupil Tanlin. Here the expression *biguan* or 'wall-gazing' appears as a reference to a form of meditation. It was not meant to be understood literally but as a metaphor for calming down the mind as if by gazing at a wall.[171] But this motif then appears literally in visual sources and later in the related textual sources, with representations of Bodhidharma meditating in front of a wall, usually within a cave. In Japanese folklore this episode evolves further with suggestions that Bodhidharma's arms and legs atrophied during the long meditation and fell off. This then can be the interpretation of the round shape of the popular Daruma-dolls.

When did 'wall-meditation' paintings first begin to appear? Fontein and Hickman drew the attention to Kidō Chūtarō's suggestion that a painting in the style of Guanxiu (832-912) is an early example of this topic, but this painting raises several doubts (plate 28).[172] The painting shows a hooded old man sitting under a tree or a rock cliff, facing towards it as if he were meditating in front of it. The man depicted is in three-quarter view, clasping his hands in front of his knees and seems to hold a fan like other well-known figures from the Guanxiu repertoire. The painting bears an ancient-type seal inscription on the right hand side of the painting which is illegible on the reproduction and Kidō did not discuss its content in his book.[173] As Fontein and Hickman already pointed out it is particularly difficult to confirm the authenticity of this painting.[174] Throughout Japan paintings executed in the style of Guanxiu were very popular and even up to the present day these paintings are perceived as typical of Five Dynasties China.[175] These paintings certainly convey representational modes from Guanxiu's era but their dating in this period should not always be taken for granted.

Guanxiu was famous for his sets of arhats and this composition clearly contains similarities with other Guanxiu compositions of arhats in landscape settings. Whether or not this representation was intended to show Bodhidharma when it was painted, it is interesting to see how later interpretations of these kinds of paintings operate. Using Guanxiu's style there is a set of paintings from the fourteenth century in the Fujita Museum in Osaka. According to Fontein and Hickman these paintings originally represented a set of arhats, but later became to be re-identified as Hanshan, Shide and Fenggan (plate 29).[176] The compositional schemes used in these paintings are very similar to the ones in the arhat paintings of Guanxiu although arhats usually appear in sets of sixteen, eighteen or five hundred. The bearded man with a broom in the Fujita Museum scroll (plate 29.a) is represented in a very similar way to the arhat Nakula appearing in both the Nezu Museum and the Mutō collection. The reading figure (plate 29.b) is reminiscent of Panthaka, while the one accompanied by a tiger (plate 29.c) is usually taken to be Bhadra. In my opinion, these three Chan personalities were associated with arhats not only because of their mythical characteristics but also partly because the painter borrowed the visual vocabulary of the

171 Suzuki 1993 (1959) explains that this wall-gazing is to be understood symbolically.

172 Fontein-Hickman1970:135

173 Kidō 1978: 270-272, fig. 3

174 Fontein-Hickman 1970: 135

175 Suzuki Kei 1983, Vol. 4. pp. 6-170, see especially the arhat paintings in Japanese temple collections.

176 Fontein-Hickman (1970:5-8) thought that the broom on the picture of Hanshan as his attribute is a later addition. Cf. *Masterpieces in the Fujita Museum of Art*, Osaka, 1954: I. pl.19

ancient Chan painter Guanxiu. On the other hand, the more popular representations of Hanshan and Shide as young eccentrics might have rooted in the tradition of depicting immortals, among whose we can often find young people (plates 161, 240), while arhats are usually shown as old men.

Comparing the style of the Fujita Museum set of the three Chan personalities to the style of the painting of the meditating hooded man published by Kidō Chūtarō as Bodhidharma, Fontein and Hickman state that these paintings were probably made in the fourteenth century.

When we see arhat-like figures extracted from their set of sixteen, eighteen or five hundred, as is the case with the Fujita Museum triptych, it is very likely that they originally not intended to be arhats but other religious personalities with similar qualities. Therefore it cannot be out of the realms of possibility that the painting of the wall-gazing Bodhidharma in the style of Guanxiu was indeed intended to be Bodhidharma when it was painted. Consequently, one may argue that the painting made in the guise of an arhat à la Guanxiu published by Kidō Chūtarō, was also intended to represent Bodhidharma, just as Hanshan, Shide and Fenggan also appeared in the forms of Guanxiu-style arhats on the Fujita Museum set.

The Landscape-setting: Symbolism of the Cave

The placing figures of saints and sages in a landscape setting has a great tradition in China. As early as the Eastern Jin dynasty period (317-420) we know of compositions showing men under trees. We have a good example in a rubbing from a molded brick relief from a tomb at Xishanqiao, now in the Jiangsu Provincial Museum in Nanjing (plate 30).[177] In this composition the figures are placed under trees. In the Buddhist context sitting under a tree can be an allusion to the enlightenment of the Śākyamuni Buddha.[178] Images of ascetics meditating under trees appeared on carvings at the Yungang cave temples (from the 460s, Northern Wei Dynasty) (plate 31); and Guanxiu (832-912) in his famous arhat-set also put some of his figures under trees (plate 32). This compositional mode became popular later, and Bodhidharma also came to be represented as sitting under a tree in a landscape setting exactly the same way as the arhats were represented.

The other significant feature of some Bodhidharma representations is that he is shown as meditating in a cave. The textual sources which discuss Bodhidharma's meditation at the Shaolin monastery do not specify whether it took place in front of the wall of a cave or in the monastery itself. But in visual representations Bodhidharma is often shown inside a cave. A possible reason for this could be the long tradition in Asia that ascetics meditated in caves. Cave temples were popular in India and in China. On the murals in the Dunhuang cave temples we can also find references to meditating ascetics in caves, out in the nature. For example in cave number 285 (from the Western Wei period) a row of meditating figures in caves can be seen in the lower sector of the ceiling (plates 33, 34). These caves are all surrounded by trees and other natural elements. Guanxiu in his famous set of arhats also showed a figure sitting and meditating in a cave (plate 35). This composition also had a great impact on Bodhidharma-images.

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177 Illustration from Wen C. Fong 1992: fig.16

178 But this element can be found in the life story of Buddha's contemporary, Mahāvira, the founder of Jainism (Eliade 1997:71).

Caves also have a certain symbolism and these aspects appeared in references and commentaries related to Bodhidharma.[179]

The esoteric tradition of the Chan/Zen school associated the cave with the maternal womb, and through that connected Bodhidharma with birth. They explained his nine-year seclusion in the cave as a symbol of the nine months in the womb. It was even explained that his red robe is none other than the placenta.[180]

The *Ehatsu kechimyaku denju sahō* says that the Dharma robe and its transmission is equivalent to the gestation of the foetus in the womb, being a symbol for a spiritual gestation.[181] The *Fukuden-e kirigami*[182] says that "the kāsāya finds its origin in the thread of events during the time one was inside the womb."[183]

In the *Sangai Isshinki* (ca. 1644) the Zen master Dairyū wrote the following at the end of an embryological *missanchō*[184] an esoteric commentary or interview providing ready-made answers to a *kōan*[185]:

> Question: What about Bodhidharma's nine years in front of the wall?
>
> Answer: These are, in fact, the nine months spent in the womb.
>
> Question: Tell me about Bodhidharma with the caul, about Bodhidharma prior to all distinctions, about Bodhidharma's nine years in front of the wall.
>
> Answer: During the nine months spent in the maternal womb, the caul is put on. During the nine years of *zazen* Bodhidharma put on a skin cap- to ward off the three poisons, to strengthen the roots of life.[186]

Another variant says:

> Question: What about 'for nine years Bodhidharma faced the wall and said nothing'?

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179 See the forthcoming article by Bernard Faure, (in: *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context*, to be published in summer 2003). The author kindly sent me the preliminary French version of this article "La Double Vie du Patriarche" for which I owe many thanks to Prof. Bernard Faure.

180 Faure (1995:363) says that the symbolism of the robe as the placenta can be found in the legend of the third Indian patriarch Śānavāsa, too, who was said to be born wrapped in a robe, which became a kāsāya when he was ordained (Dankōroku, T.82,2585:348b-349c). We can find the same motif in the legend of the nun called Śuklā, who was born with a robe, and she again wears a robe after her death as an intermediary being, waiting for rebirth (T. 82, 2582:50c10).

181 Faure 1995: 361 Cf. Ishikawa Rikisan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirigami no bunrui shiron" (6), *Komazawa Daigaku bukkyō Gakubu ronshū 16*, 1985:102-152:109

182 K*irigami* or *kirikami* is an initiation document in Sōtō Zen tradition. (See more about kirigami, in: Ishikawa: "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirigami no bunrui shiron (1-14)" *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Ronshū* 16-19 (1985-1988).

183 Faure 1995:362 Cf. Ishikawa 1985:109

184 *Missanchō*, abr. of *Shitchu himitsu zazen* ["secret zazen in the chamber"]. See Imaeda on *missanchō*, also called *missanroku* ["records of secret interviews"]; oral transmission reminiscent of esoteric *kuden*, *kirigami daiji*, and *sanmotsu*, see *Zenshū no Rekishi*, Shōwa 18, Tokyo: Shibundō, pp. 179-180. Washio, Junkō, *Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō*, vol. 5. Tokyo: Tōhō shoen, 1930: 505-540 (Information from James Sanford through Professor Bernard Faure)

185 Kōan, the Japanese pronounciation of the Chinese word, *gongan.* A riddle or enigmatic statement which is usually insoluble using rational analytical processes.

186 Faure 2003; cf. Suzuki, *Suzuki Daisetzu Zenshū*, vol. 1. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1968:293

Answer: Bodhidharma's nine years in front of the wall are the nine months in the womb. This is the donning of the caul. The red hood that Bodhidharma wears as he sits in front of the wall is that caul. Bodhidharma within the womb has something to teach us.

Its source was a Rinzai commentary based on *Wumen guan*'s case:

"The monk Xiangyan said: Suppose there was a man up on a tree. He holds onto a tree branch with his teeth. His hands grasp no branch and his feet do not reach the trunk of the tree. Beneath the tree there is someone who asks him: 'What is the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the West?'

If the man does not respond at all, he will fail the questioner's need. But if he does answer, he will fall to his death. In this situation how should one respond?"[187]

The text explains this dialogue through embryological terms: the tree is the mother's body, the man on the tree is the embryo in the womb. To "hold the branch with the teeth" is to suck at the "root of milk" while still in the womb.[188]

As the previously mentioned Edo period text, the *Sangai isshinki*[189] tells us, the retreat of Amaterasu (the sun-goddess in the Japanese creation myth) in a cave is like the stay of the child in the womb, where the maternal womb is equivalent with the sanctuary (of Ise), the child is equivalent with the *kami* who lives there, and the vulva of the mother is the *torii*, the gate to the sanctuary.[190]

Paintings of the Meditating Bodhidharma

Compositions presenting Bodhidharma either alone, or with Huike in a nature setting were very popular. These paintings are usually executed in a chinsō-type mode, i.e. in colours, but we can also find similar images made in ink monochrome. We have to add though that the latter type is very rare in the earlier phase of the development of the iconography of Bodhidharma. We can say that with the medium of ink monochrome the natural surroundings were abandoned and this led to a more abbreviated style of representation, concentrating on the 'sign' standing for the first patriarch. In its final stage, this led to the one-brushstroke Bodhidharma (Jp. *Ippitsu Daruma*) popular mostly in Japan.

In the following chapter I show the different types of the meditating Bodhidharma-images and their connection with each other. I focus here mainly on the formalist similarities and differences. I divide the images into three distinctively different groups according to which angle they show the patriarch. The first group of pictures show him from profile, usually together with Huike, in a landscape setting. The second group show Bodhidharma from three quarter or frontal view, usually seated on a rock plateau or in a cave or under a pine tree. The third group shows Bodhidharma from the back.

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[187] See *Wumenguan* 13, Miklós n.d.

[188] Faure 2003 Cf. *Sangai Isshinki* (or *Sanken itchi sho*, ca.1644) by the Zen monk Dairyū, in: Washio, Junkō, *Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō*, vol. 5. Tokyo: Tōhō shoen, 1930: 530

[190] Ibid. p. 530

1. Bodhidharma in Profile

When Bodhidharma is represented with Huike, the most common way to show him is in profile and in a landscape setting. Traditionally in these paintings Bodhidharma wears a white robe and a hood. This representation, showing Bodhidharma in white might be an allusion to the story in which Huike came to Bodhidharma when it was snowing. We can suppose a connection between this representational mode and the fact that in the folk imagination in Japan the snowman is called 'snow Daruma'.[191]

In these pictures Huike is usually shown behind the patriarch. This composition reflects the legend that Bodhidharma did not want to notice Huike until he cut off his arm. Kidō Chūtarō refers to other monks who were also known for amputating their arms in search for enlightenment, such as Daigong, who was a student of Zongmi (780-841), a famous Buddhist scholar and historiographer.[192]

Fontein and Hickman tell us that "this episode of Bodhidharma and Huike became so well known that there is even a reference to it in the play "Battles of Coxinga" by Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724)."[193]

One of the earliest paintings showing this composition is in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art, a hanging scroll painted by an unknown Southern Song Dynasty painter around the late thirteenth century (plate 36). Bodhidharma is shown here sitting on a cliff facing towards a cave-like rock. Huike, of whom only the upper half of his body can be seen- maybe an allusion to the snow he was said to stand in for three days and nights waiting for the patriarch's response,[194] is wearing a monk's robe and standing or kneeling behind Bodhidharma, much lower, under the cliff. The opening of the cave is surrounded by trees and bushes. The figures are quite small in comparison to later compositions of such a scene, and the natural elements are emphasized.

Liang Kai (fl. in late twelfth century) who is one of the most well-known painters of Chan subjects of the late Southern Song period (1127-1279) shows Bodhidharma with Huike in his handscroll of "Eight Eminent Monks"(plate 37). Bodhidharma wears a red robe with a hood covering his head, and is shown sitting surrounded by pine trees in a cave-like enclosure. Behind him, Huike is standing patiently submerged in deep snow that reaches above his knees. Bodhidharma has darker skin than Huike, his head fallen under his shoulders and looking down rather than focussing on staring at the wall; he has a slightly sad rather than august appearance. The figures are drawn with thin outlines whilst Liang Kai used the wet boneless technique (Ch. *mogu*) for the background.

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191 The Daikōmyō temple in Japan possesses a seventeenth century ink painting (painted by Kaihō Yūshō, 1533-1615) which clearly shows how Bodhidharma's meditation in the snow became to be associated with the popular snowman.

192 Kidō 1978: 208-211

193 Fontein-Hickman 1970:132

194 This version referring to the snow where Huike stood firm until Bodhidharma noticed him, became popular from the eleventh century. It is sometimes still common nowadays that before someone is allowed to become a Chan monk, he should spend three days and nights outside the master's place (Buswell 1992; Suzuki 1993).

Dai Jin (1388-1462) the famous Ming dynasty painter painted a very similar scene in the mid.-fifteenth century in the opening section of a handscroll representing the six Chan patriarchs in a mountainous landscape, now in the collection of the Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang (plate 38).This scroll, as we know from its dedication was done for an individual patron or friend called Puxun.[195]

In this composition Bodhidharma is shown facing the stone wall in the middle of a cave, wearing a white robe with a hood, sitting on a raw mat. Behind him, Huike is standing ankle-deep in snow, wearing a monk's robe. At the opening of the cave, to the right, bamboo leaves are sprouting. Inside the cave we can see a brazier, and a round shaped bag. Left to Bodhidharma's figure a bamboo water pipe is shown conducting water into a large pot placed under it. A towel is placed casually over the pipe, behind Bodhidharma. The colour of the whole composition is brownish except Bodhidharma's white robe and the green leaves of the bamboo.

The profile composition and the seclusion in a cave recall the Song-dynasty painting of the third arhat Kanaka Bharadvāja, from the late twelfth century (plate 39), where at the right bottom of the cave green branches of vegetation also appear. The presence of the green bamboo on Dai Jin's painting despite the winter snow might thus be explained through a recollection of this composition.

The best known illustration of this episode from Bodhidharma's life was painted in 1496 by the Japanese painter Sesshū, (plate 40). Sesshū's picture is showing the same composition, but it is simpler than Dai Jin's painting. The paraphernalia we have seen in the previous painting disappears, leaving only the two figures drawn with powerful brushstrokes in the mode of ink monochrome placed in the rocky cave to fill the picture scroll. The faces of the two bearded monks are indicated with light colours, Bodhidharma's a bit darker than Huike's, indicating the master's origin; their eyes are painted with a light colour with sharp contours emphasizing the seriousness of their encounter. The rock surface is made with strong outlines and inside the coarse surface of the rock is indicated with axe-cut brushstrokes (Ch. *fupi cun*, Jp. *fuheki shun*)[196]. In contrast, the ground is rendered with a few horizontal lines and black dots around the lines very possibly indicating the untouched snow. The composition of the painting serves to underline the drama of the narrative. In the centre, Bodhidharma's eye lies as if it were an archery target, surrounded by imaginary concentric circles towards his face, his robe, and then the rock, serving as an imaginary aura around the patriarch. The other compositional scheme is a diagonal leading from Huike in the bottom left towards Bodhidharma's eyes. This movement is also helped by the diagonal parallel line of the rock wall behind the figures. Fontein-Hickman discuss the originality of Sesshū's painting as a "pragmatic independent solution to the compositional problem".[197] However, profile representations of Bodhidharma were rare in Japan as the authors summarize correctly, but not without precedence. Apart from the famous bust-painting of Bodhidharma where he is shown in profile attributed to Muqi Fachang (fl. ca. 1210-1280), whose works became very popular in Japan (plate 41), there are others. In this ink monochrome painting the patriarch is shown as a bearded Indian person wearing an earring in his long 'folded back' earlobe. This

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195 Cahill 1978:45-53

196 "The major type of modeling stroke used in Southern Sung landscape painting. Said to have been used first by Li T'ang, the "axe-cut" stroke is produced by pulling the side of the brush across the surface of a rock or earthen bank at an oblique angle" (Awakawa 1970:197).

197 Fontein-Hickman 1970:130-136

earlobe is very similar to the one of Huike in Sesshū's painting.

But there is another famous painting showing Bodhidharma in profile which is not mentioned by Fontein-Hickman. This silk painting shows a bearded big eyed figure very similar to Sesshū's Bodhidharma, wearing white robe, his head covered with a hood (plate 42). The manner of the brushstrokes also show similarity, as strong broad strokes were used for the robe, and more precise small strokes for the face. On the painting there is also an indication of the natural setting though no wall or rock surface is indicated in front of the figure. The painting bears an inscription of the Chinese monk Yishan Yining (Jp. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317), who came to Japan in 1299 and became the abbot of Nanzen-ji, in Kyōto.[198]

This composition also had an influence on later Bodhidharma-painters, as we can see on a main panel of a triptych attributed to Sōami (1485?-1525) (plate 43),[199] and a profile-Bodhidharma in a circle by the famous Zenga artist, Isshi Bunshū (1608-1646) (plate 44).[200]

Shūtoku (fl. first half of the sixteenth century), who was a Zen priest like Sesshū, belonged to the Ami school and influenced by Sesshū's style had used Sesshū's composition of the wall-gazing Bodhidharma for an arhat figure on the flanking panel of his triptych of the Śākyamuni Buddha (plate 45).[201] In this panel on the top left corner a hooded figure is sitting facing the rock cave wall, which was also painted in the manner of Sesshū. The figure is not identified as Bodhidharma, but from this composition and the Fujita tryptich we discussed in the previous chapter it can be seen clearly that the iconography of arhats and of Bodhidharma possess many similar features.

Bodhidharma was sometimes represented in the context of the arhats as well, for example in an album leaf on silk from the seventeenth century China, now in the Hopp Ferenc Museum of East Asian Art, Budapest (plate 46).[202] Here, Bodhidharma is facing the wall, seemingly outside in the nature, the cave is only indicated by the cliffs on the top of the page as if surrounding his figure. Behind him, a young monk is kneeling with a sword attached to his belt on his waist, an indication of his forthcoming sacrifice. But despite the tradition of showing this scene in a snowy landscape, the vegetation does not refer to winter.

Bodhidharma in profile shown by himself, without Huike, and wearing a red robe is also a common theme in Japan. Shōritsu Shūtan's (1413-1481) painting with the inscription of Shun'ya Shūen (1529-1611) refers to Bodhidharma's nine year sitting meditation in the Shaolin monastery in the colophon (plate 47). The profile also indicates the wall-gazing meditation.

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198 Kanazawa 1979:140, pl.112

199 Though it bears the inscription referring to Sōami, it was very possibly made in the early Edo period (Lempertz Auction catalogue 843 Köln, 6-7 June, 2003: no. 695).

200 Isshi Bunshū (1608–46), was a pupil of the noted Zen master and abbot of Daitoku-ji Takuan Sōhō. As an aristocrat by birth, Isshi enjoyed popularity at court like Nobutada did. The Daruma paintings of Nobutada and Isshi are reminiscent of ink paintings by Kaō Sōnen and Mokuan Reien, early practitioners of Japanese ink painting in the Muromachi period (1333–1568). The four artists share abbreviated and expressive brushstrokes enhanced by aristocratic refinement. The elegant taste of Nobutada and Isshi was favoured by early Edo-period tea masters, and their works were often displayed at tea gatherings. This highbrow early *Zenga* style is quite different from the *Zenga* of Hakuin and his followers (Sadako Ohki 1996:192-194).

201 Tazawa 1981:159

202 Fajcsák 1994: 81.pl.4

A composition in ink monochrome appears on the album painting by Seki Seisetsu (1877-1945) (plate 48). A Bodhidharma with very similar facial features to the Shōritsu Shūtan appears in the Bodhidharma painting of Tsuji Kakō (1870-1931) one of the most adventuresome painters of the early twentieth century (plate 49).[203] In his painting Bodhidharma's eyebrow is very similar in shape to the eyebrow of the Bodhidharma on Sesshū's painting, as it is getting thicker towards his temple.

The famous 'Zenga' painter Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) and his disciple Suiō Genrō (1716-1789) represented a different type of Bodhidharma, a bald, bearded man with uncovered head, with round protruding eyes, executed in a very abbreviated manner (plates 50, 51).

In Korea representing Bodhidharma from profile is also popular. Ilju Kim Jin'u (1883-1950), who actively participated in the resistance movement against the Japanese occupation, ironically follows a very similar scheme in depicting Bodhidharma as Hakuin and Suiō Genrō, but in a much stiffer manner (plate 52).[204]

The 'Geumgangsan-genius' Seok Jeong (born in 1927) drew many versions of Bodhidharma in profile ranging from the precise line-drawings to the spontaneous expressive ink paintings (plates 53, 54, 55, 56).

In China we cannot find as many examples of Bodhidharma-paintings compared to Korea and Japan in the modern period, and they are more serious in their outlook. Wu Changshuo (1844-1927) painted the meditating Bodhidharma (plate 57), but his figure resembles Śākyamuni Buddha and follows older Chinese visual patterns (an arhat in the Album of the sixteen arhats by Jin Nong, Qing Dynasty, plate 58) while in his other painting showing Bodhidharma with one sandal and on a reed he is more attached to the scheme of representing the patriarch as a bearded stocky man (plate 59). Fan Zheng (b.1938) in his Bodhidharma-paintings uses quite unusual features for representing the patriarch, making him resemble Jesus Christ or a yogi rather than applying the well-adopted traditional visual vocabulary (plate 60).

2. Three-quarter or frontal view

A very common representational mode of the full-body Bodhidharma is the three-quarter or frontal view. These representations engage the spectator, forging eye-contact with him, allowing him to be a participant in the scene. Thus the viewer comes to play the same role as the other usually depicted small figures bringing presents and prostrating in front of the master. No wonder that this format is used for religious icons, in ceremonies and rituals.

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[203] Tsuji Kakō (1870-1931) in early years faithfully followed the Shijō-style painting, but became independent around the turn of the century and painted different topics, including people on the train, sumō wrestlers, drunken sailors and Korean people, whom he could encountered in his trip to the Diamond Mountains in Korea in 1920. Kakō's interest in Zen Buddhism included relationships with prominent Zen masters, for example Takeda Mokurai (1854-1928) of Kennin-ji, who often inscribed his works. Tsuji Kakō was particularly attracted by Bodhidharma whom he painted several times in many different versions throughout his carrier (Berry 2001:163.pl.32).

[204] He went to Manchuria, then to Shanghai, and became a member of the Temporary Government. When he returned to Korea he was arrested by the Japanese and was imprisoned for three years. In prison when he wanted to draw something and did not have paper and ink, he drew on the floor with water (Choi 1998: 155-160).

Among the three-quarter and frontal representations we can distinguish between the ones made for a more formal, ritual context, which often have features in common and ideas with the Confucian tradition; and the ones representing the master in a landscape setting or in a cave, which have more common features with the Daoist-influenced arhat-representations.
The first group of Bodhidharma-images show strong similarity with the sculptural representations in their formal appearance and in their immediacy. While the ones in a landscape setting, are more narrative in their nature. This can be explained with the context in which these images were used.

The images where Bodhidharma is not surrounded by a natural setting, usually present him in the context of the patriarchs. These formal paintings continue the earliest tradition of patriarchal paintings as we discussed when looking at the earliest images of Bodhidharma. These paintings show the patriarchs usually sitting on chairs, in many case sitting cross-legged with their shoes lying in front of them on a footstool. On a late thirteenth-century Chinese painting of the six patriarchs, now in the collection of Myōshin-ji (plate 61), and a fifteenth-century copy of that painting (plate 62), this detail can be interpreted as a reference to the one-sandal episode of Bodhidharma's life, since Bodhidharma's two shoes on the footstool are not neatly parallel as are, those of the other five patriarchs.

Li Gonglin

The three-quarter and frontal images in a landscape setting show very close similarities with the arhat-paintings, too. There is a blurry reproduced black and white reproduction[205] of a painting in the Tenryū temple, attributed to Li Gonglin (ca. 1041-1106), the famous Northern Song dynasty literati painter (plate 63). The painting is described as representing Bodhidharma with Huike standing in the snow. Through there is no reference to this painting in the comprehensive catalogue of Chinese paintings in the volume discussing Japanese temple collections compiled by Suzuki Kei (1983) and neither in the studies dealing with Li Gonglin (Meyer 1923; Barnhart 1993) and in Cahill's (Cahill 1980) and Seymour's (Seymour 1988) Index-dictionaries on Chinese art, this painting can be considered as an interesting document.

We know that Li Gonglin was a very versatile artist, he painted figures, horses and landscape and he was a collector, antiquarian and a connoisseur. The majority of his works are examples of the plain linear (*baimiao*) style, however, we are informed that in the collection of the Academy of Fine Arts, Tokyo there is a set of arhat paintings similar to the one in the Tenryū-ji painting, depicting arhats with their disciples in naturalistic settings incorporating flowers, animals and birds.[206]
It was noted in the *Xuanhe huapu*, dated 1120 that Li Gonglin painted a work titled "*Patriarch Transmitting the Dharma Robe*" (*Zushi chuan shou fayi*).[207] No description of the painting is given in the text, but we can suppose from the earliest images we discussed in this thesis in the previous chapters, that the style of those paintings might have been in *baimiao* linear style.

[205] In the Tokyo exhibition catalogue "Darumaten", p.4

[206] Moss 1988: 3

[207] Meyer 1923: chapter III./63. Cf. *Xuanhe huapu* (preface:1120) Taipei: Shijie, 1974:161, 207

However, the Long roll composition makes it also likely that it might have been a chinsō-like image.

Judging from the style of the cliffs on some copies of Li Gonglin's works (for example on the "Surpassing Gold cliff" from the "*Longmien Mountain Villa*", reproduced by Barnhart 1993:35. fig.7) there is a similarity with the Tenryū-ji Bodhidharma's cave. The figure resembles some paintings survived from the time of Li Gonglin.
An unknown Chan master's portrait in the Kōzan-ji, shows similar features with the Tenryū-ji Bodhidharma (plate 64).[208] In the painting the unknown Chan master has Indian features, very similar to Bodhidharma's, he is shown sitting cross-legged in a chair, his shoes placed on the footstool in front of him. It is painted in brilliant colours and rich decorative patterns of his cloths and the draperies. The painting is executed in the mode of representing patriarchs and famous masters for the temple's patriarch hall.
On the Tenryū-ji Bodhidharma-painting the figures are placed in a nature-setting, following the arhat-painting tradition. Bodhidharma is sitting inside a cave, on a rock plateau, his slippers are placed in front of him on another smaller rock-formation as a natural footstool. This composition is similar to the ones showing the patriarchs and masters sitting in chairs with crossed legs. But as their function was different, they followed other representational modes. However, their effect was very similar to the iconic *chinsō*-images. But their place in the temple and the rituals, was different.

Bodhidharma in three-quarter view and Huike

Arhats with attendants or admirers prostrating and offering presents is a common representational mode from as early as the Tang period, and became extremely popular in the Song period arhat-paintings. But representations showing Bodhidharma from three-quarter view facing toward the left side, sitting in a cave and Huike represented as coming from the left bottom corner became an especially popular representational mode in Korea. In this country on temple architectural painting as well as coloured silk paintings this compositional scheme became dominant. On a temple architectural painting from Haein-sa[209] (plate 65) the scene - being faithful to the tradition - shows a snowy landscape, even the branches are bare and covered with snow. But surprisingly, on the left hand side of the painting a banana tree is depicted, whose leaf serves as an offering tray for presenting Huike's arm to the master. This composition, showing Bodhidharma with Huike and the banana tree can be seen very often on other Korean Bodhidharma-representations as well (plate 66). Depicting banana trees on these paintings indicates their compositional origins in arhat-paintings where bananas were often represented as a dominant plant in the compositions (for example on an arhat-painting by Liu Songnian, already quoted in this thesis, see pp.36-39, above, plate 17).

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208 Published in *Sodai no Kaiga: Tokubetsuten* [Song paintings in Japanese collections], Nara, 1989 cat. 59, p. 94; Cf. Barnhart 1993: 18, fig. 4

209 One of the most famous monasteries in Korea where the Buddhist canon, the Tripitaka Koreana is preserved.

Bodhidharma, Chūdapanthaka or Kanaka Bharadvāja?

Representing Bodhidharma during his seclusion in a cave reveals similar features with the depiction of two arhats, namely Kanaka Bharadvāja, in profile representation (see above, p.52, plate 39) and Chūdapanthaka. When these arhats are depicted in three-quarter view, they show similarities with the Bodhidharma-paintings.

Kanaka Bharadvāja usually has a snake as his attribute, wearing a robe with a hood and secluded in a cave or a trunk of an old tree (plates 67, 68). On the Daitoku-ji set of Five Hundred arhats[210] there is a scene when this arhat is sitting and meditating in the mouth of a large snake (plate 69). This imagery might be connected to the tradition I have heard in Korea, that Bodhidharma was a handsome prince who had mastered Buddhist meditation. Once a huge snake died on the crossroads and was so big and smelly, that people could not pass by. Noticing this, Bodhidharma left his body with the help of his meditation skills, entered the dead body of the snake, and removed it into the sea.[211]

The attributes of Chūdapanthaka are the sparrows in his lap indicating his motionless meditation (plate 70).

We have examples of combining the attributes of the above mentioned two arhats, for example on an arhat from the set of the Jōshōkō temple, from Muromachi Period (plate 71). The presence of a sparrow on the lap of the figure and a huge snake, which can be a sign of the blurring borders of the iconography of the two arhats, Kanaka Bharadvāja and Chūdapanthaka.[212]

When none of these attributes are indicated, we might suspect that the painted image is showing Bodhidharma.

In the collection of the Rokuen-ji, there is a painting attributed to the famous Yuan painter Yan Hui (fl. late thirteenth, early fourteenth century)[213] with an inscription of Mushō Seishō(?) (1234-1306) representing a hooded Indian-looking figure wearing earrings, sitting among rock cliffs indicating a cave (plate 72). Above him, rooted in a rock, a pine tree bends towards the figure. This picture shows similar compositional features with two famous paintings from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century by unidentified painters. One of them is the Red robed Bodhidharma with an inscription by Lanqi Daolong (1231-1278) (plate 73) and the other is a red robed Bodhidharma sitting under a pine tree, inscribed by the Chinese Chan monk Yishan Yining (1247-1317) (plate 74) who went to Japan in 1299 and became the abbot of Nanzen-ji, Kyōto.

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210 Fong 1956; 1958

211 In this story we can recognize some references to legends of Daoist immortals who possessed similar powers. Personal communication from a Korean woman graduated in the Dongguk Buddhist University.

212 Published in Suzuki Kei 1983: Vol. 4. JT 102-002

213 Yan Hui was very popular in Japan and several paintings are attributed to him, through according to my opinion they are very different in execution and very likely only the iconographical scheme is deriving from the Chinese master, but remained and venerated in the temple collections as if they were made by Yan Hui himself.

Red-robed Bodhidharma with the inscription of Lanqi Daolong

The first painting, executed around 1271.The figure has the two front teeth with a gap between them, which feature we have already discussed (p.37-38) in relation to its occurrence on the Dunhuang paintings as well as on the depiction of certain arhats.
The identification of the red-robed Bodhidharma though is clearly indicated in the inscription which follows:

> He was the youngest son of King Hsiang-chih
> And follower of Prajñātāra's eminent line.
> He studied [the tenets of] the Buddha
> Destroying the heretical views of the Six Sects
> He came to China, and the strange five-petaled flower blossomed
> The fragrant doctrine was transmitted on to Japan
> The auspicious signs like sands of the river.
> The original spiritual sprout of the Shao-lin flourished
> And transplanted to the noble line abroad,
> An extraordinary flower grew.
> Respectfully written for Rōnen-koji,
> Lan-ch'i Tao-lung of the Kenchō-ji.[214]

From this inscription it is clearly seen that the painting was brought to Japan or made in Japan. Fontein-Hickman compare the style of this painting with the portrait of Lanqi Daolong, the colophon-writer of the red-robed Bodhidharma, whose own portrait is preserved in Kenchō-ji, and regard them as executed by the same painters. The style of the red robed Bodhidharma is considered a work of a Japanese artist, because of the following stylistic features: "The red-robed Bodhidharma painting does not show the preoccupation with the treatment of minute details in a realistic manner which is apparent in the Chinese *chinsō*, and the brushwork is done with 'orchid-leaf' strokes on the robe and is painted in a water-thinned pigment generally unlike the thicker, semi-opaque colours used in Chinese *chinsō*. The monochrome ink treatment of the rock plateau, executed with intuitively rendered contour lines paralleled by soft, dry strokes, relates more closely to traditional Japanese landscape techniques than to Chinese methods. While colour is skillfully used in the painting, the overall indebtedness to ink-monochrome techniques is very apparent, as it is in a few early Japanese *chinsō*-among them the famous portrait of Lanqi Daolong in the Kenchō-ji, a work with the closest historical and artistic affiliations with the Bodhidharma painting."[215]
A more reassuring connection between the two paintings can be the fact that both paintings bear the inscriptions by Lanqi Daolong and were dedicated to a mysterious figure called *Rōnen-koji* about whose identity not very much is known.[216]

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214 Translation from Fontein-Hickman 1970: 51

215 Fontein-Hickman 1970: 51

216 Fontein-Hickman note (1970:51) that this person must have been an influential personality. "Suggestions were made to identify him with the regent Tokiyori or his son Tokimune. Both of them were great patrons and admirers of Daolung. The inscription of the Kenchō-ji portrait is dated 1271, the red-robed Bodhidharma-painting therefore considered to be contemporary with that. However,

The inscription clearly identifies the person depicted as Bodhidharma.
The king Xiangzhi in the colophon is first mentioned in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* [Record of the Transmission of the Flame], compiled in 1004[217] and is thought to have been a kingdom in Southern India near what is now Madras, perhaps Kānchi, where a Pallava capital was located in the sixth century. Prajñatāra was considered the twenty-seventh Patriarch and Bodhidharma's predecessor named for the first time in the *Baolin zhuan* compiled 801.[218] The reference to the 'five-petalled flower' comes from a quotation traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma. The Shaolin monastery - as we know - is the temple on Songshan where Bodhidharma spent nine years in 'wall-contemplation'.

Bodhidharma sitting under a pine tree with an inscription by Yishan Yining

The other painting representing Bodhidharma in a hooded red robe and showing him as a robust bearded Indian man is in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. It shows similarities with the 'red robed Bodhidharma' discussed before, but in this example the naturalistic elements are more dominant and the figure itself is smaller. The brushstrokes of the robe are more precise, not showing similarity with the previous painting where the lines of the robe were soft, loose and playing with the difference in their width within the same picture. The rock plateau where Bodhidharma is sitting is rendered with the axe-cut dry strokes, and Bodhidharma's slippers which are placed in front of him, on a lower part of the cliff and the bamboo leaves around the cliff are drawn with precise linear brushwork. Behind the figure, a huge cloud in a form of a cumulus appears, and above him, a pine tree's branches and bended trunk occupies the upper left corner of the painting. In this aspect it can be compared with the Rokuen-ji Bodhidharma which was attributed to Yan Hui (plate 72). The brushwork on the robe and face of the figure on both pictures are similar, however the rendering of the nature-setting is completely different. On the Rokuen-ji painting the rock surface is indicated with many dotted soft brushstrokes while the Tokyo National Museum painting is executed with precise contours, keeping the painting in one style with the figure.
The inscription of the painting was made by Yishan Yining (1247-1317), whose inscriptions remain to us on other paintings, among them, the previously discussed profile-Bodhidharma-painting (plate 42) whose facial features show similarities with the later famous composition by Sesshū.

Frontal images

An undated rubbing taken from a stele erected at the Shaolin monastery on Songshan where Bodhidharma's famous nine year meditation took place according to legend shows the patriarch from a frontal view surrounded by a dense vegetation, rocks, pine trees, bamboos and a water cascade (plate 75). The stele is preserved in the Patriarchs' Hall in the Shaolin monastery.

Tokiyori had died eight years before that date, but Tokimune was about twenty years old, probably too young at that time to be called by a Buddhist name with the Buddhist lay-suffix "koji" added to it." (Fontein-Hickman 1970:51)

217 Fontein-Hickman give 1002 as a date in their catalogue entry.

218 Yampolsky 1967:8-9 about the appearance of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs in the textual sources.

The representation of Bodhidharma as a beardless bald man with earrings recalls another rubbing of a stone stele dated to the Daan reign period of the Jin Dynasty (1209-1212) which also represents Bodhidharma, but without the nature settings, showing him walking with a shoe in one hand, and a flywhisk in the other (plate 7).[219]

The stele with the seated Bodhidharma is thought by Bush and Mair to have been made in the twelfth century.[220] In fact, other recent publications suggest a later date.[221] Su Siyi suggests the date 1466, but without discussing the reason for giving that date.[222] It is possible that the Chinese authors referred to the famous Ming 'Dehua' porcelains where at the forming of Bodhidharma's figure the Ming ceramists followed this often seemingly beardless, voluptuous round faced type of representation (plates 76, 77).[223] We can find the beardless bald Bodhidharma with earrings on a bige arm rest, carved ivory with low relief design in the collection of the Beijing Palace Museum (plate 78).[224]

Bodhidharma Triptychs

Triptychs when Bodhidharma is in the middle, have different types of side panels.[225]

He is often shown with other Chan personalities such as Fenggan and Budai (Myōshin-ji triptych, thirteenth century) (plate 84); or with two monks, one reading a sūtra and another mending clothes (who might be identified as Hansan and Shide) also in Myōshin-ji (plate 85); sometimes he is surrounded by Linji (d.866) and Teishan (780-865) Chan masters (plate 86) or with landscapes or literati style ink paintings (Kim Myeongguk, seventeenth century Korean painter, in the Tokyo Academy of Art (Geijutsu Daigaku) (plate 87).

Among the pictures showing Bodhidharma from a frontal view, the most famous is the central panel of a triptych made by Minchō (1352-1431), the famous Japanese Zen Buddhist priest-painter (plate 79). He was more a professional than a monk amateur, and he copied several ancient Chinese paintings.

The composition is very direct, icon-like, and very two-dimensional and decorative in its appearance. This is due to the stylish and flowing brushwork applied to the robe and the thin linear double contours of the clouds surrounding and framing the whole composition. This gives a very shallow spatial effect to the painting and makes it similar to a paper-cutting, assembled from two layers of sheets like an additional frame. Behind the clouds, in the cave, as a curtain, vines are hanging down.

According to Ishida's view the fact that the central figure sits in isolation in a cave is sufficient for

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219 Published by Kidō 1978, pl. 10

220 Bush and Mair 1977-78: 42-45

221 Su Siyi and others, *Shaolin si shike yishu.* Beijing: Wenwu, 1985, pl. 33. and commentary Cf. Lachman 1991: 237 note 19

222 Lachman 1991:237 note 19

223 See examples from the Beijing Palace Museum and the collection of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, London and in the collection of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Cologne, among others. But those porcelain figures are usually dated to the 17th-18th century. (Propyleän Kunstgeschichte; Donnelly 1969: pl. 87 and 139A)

224 See: Wan-go Weng and Yang Boda 1982: pl.190

225 See more about group-paintings in Chan Buddhism, in: Brinker 1973:101-112

identifying him as Bodhidharma.[226] However, as we have seen earlier, figures sitting in isolation in caves were common in depictions of arhats, especially Chūdapanthaka and Kanaka Bharadvāja. The fact, that the figure in the painting we discuss does not have any attributes, unlike the above mentioned two arhats can support Ishida's opinion. For additional support we can mention two other paintings considered to be painted by Minchō. One of them is a painting in Jōdō-ji, and probably represents Kanaka Bharadvāja with a snake (plate 80). This composition is very similar to his Bodhidharma-painting, in its frontality and the playful application of the clouds around the seclusion place, which is, in this case, a trunk of an old tree.[227]

The set in Jōdō-ji contains another painting which is also attributed to Minchō and represents the central figure in a frontal view (plate 81). This is none other than the sixteenth arhat, Chūdapanthaka, whose similarities with Bodhidharma in certain compositions we have already noted (p. 56). The painting in Jōdō-ji is quite damaged, but we have a Ming period version in the temple Dainenbutsu-ji, painted by Wang Shixiang (plate 82) which is more intact where the composition can be seen clearly.[228] This painting is either a copy or - which is more possible - it was not made directly from Minchō's painting, but followed the same model that Minchō followed. This main figure is sitting in a cave on a rock plateau, surrounded by an aureole; an elaborately dressed smaller figure is praying on the left and a dragon is emerging from clouds on the right in front of the main figure. A thick band of clouds are crossing and folding around the composition.

Another painting attributed to Minchō in the Kōsei-ji diligently follows the Southern Song models of depicting Chūdapanthaka, in a three-quarter view, with sparrows on his lap (plate 83).

In summary, we can say that a figure depicted sitting in meditation in a cave, and not having sparrows on his lap, or snakes and dragons surrounding him, can be identified as Bodhidharma.

However, if we look at the context of the central panel of Minchō's triptych, it seems quite surprising that the side panels do not relate to Buddhist themes but show two Daoist immortals, following famous Southern Song paintings (plate 79a).[229]

Chan Buddhism has a lot in common with Daoism, and the fact that Minchō's Bodhidharma is a central panel of a triptych and not a part of a set of arhats, allows us to be more convinced by the identification of the painting as Bodhidharma.

On Minchō's painting the two Daoist immortals have similar features to the two Chan eccentrics, Hanshan and Shide, whose appearance was very possibly inspired by these legends and imagination of the Daoist immortals and local genii.

Reduced images: towards the one-brushstroke Bodhidharma

From the fourteeth century the frontal appearance of Bodhidharma without indicating the natural setting, also became popular. These images have in common with the patriarchal imagery that the circumstances around the figure are not emphasized, the figure is in complete focus. We can find

226 Ishida Mosaku, *Bukkyō Bijutsu no Kihon*, Tokyo, 1967:360 Cf. Fontein-Hickman 1970: 130-136

227 Suzuki Kei 1983 Vol. IV. JT 20-002

228 Suzuki Kei 1983 Vol. IV. JT 99-003

229 In fact, a painting attributed to Yan Hui (fl. 1297-1307) the famous Yuan dynasty painter shows Shide with a fur around his waist and with gourd-bottles as immortals were usually used to be represented. Published in: *Guo li gu gong bo wu yua*, 1985: Vol.1. pl. 99, p.200

this type of paintings executed in colours, but more commonly using only black ink and fewer lines than before.

One of the earliest extant coloured painting in this theme is by Ganseki Donsei (d.1376), the fifty-second abbot of Kennin-ji (plate 88).[230] Also from the fourteenth century there is an interesting painting by Shōkai Reiken (1315-1396), an important figure of the *Gozan* (Five mountains) literary movement and the fourty-third abbot of Tōfuku-ji;[231] (plate 89) he was the teacher of Minchō, the famous Zen painter monk, whose frontal Bodhidharma-image we have already discussed (p. 60).[232] Shōkai Reiken was eighty years old when he drew this hanging scroll showing Bodhidharma, whose robe he depicted in a single line without lifting the brush from the paper. Paintings done in this circling technique were not uncommon, and called in Japanese *kurukuru no mie* ("round and round images"), and the Bodhidharma made in this technique *guruguru Daruma.*[233]

In Chan Buddhism a method was developed for teaching and learning based on the symbolism of the circle; Huizong (died 776) was believed to employ circles for the first time to express the essence of true enlightenment to his disciples.[234]

According to Fontein and Hickman, the early Weiyang branch of Chan Buddhism came to be known by its practice of drawing circles as symbols of the nature of the enlightened consciousness. "The priest Yang shan is said to have achieved sudden enlightenment through the 'use of circular figures'."[235] "This practice was probably developed from *Huayan* (Jp. *Kegon*) teachings, which became codified into a set of ninety-seven circular figures by the *Guiyang* school[236] in the *Wei-yang* branch of Chan Buddhism,[237] and became to be identified with the six generation of patriarchs and the popular ox-herding theme."[238]

Three complex series of different circle symbols explained in the *Zutangji* [Kor. *Jodang jip*, Anthology of the Patriarch Hall] dated 952, reflect the teachings of the Korean master Sunji (829-893).[239]

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230 Kanazawa 1979:pl. 23

231 He enjoyed the patronage of the Ashikaga shōguns, Yoshiakira (1330-1368) and Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996: 216).

232 Reiken often made inscriptions for Minchō's paintings, from we know that they shared their artistic interests (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:216).

233 The inscription on the painting is a very personal and cannot be found in his posthumously compiled collected works, the "Rock Screen Anthology" (Jp. *Seki byōshū*). Though in a commentary concerning such painting inscriptions, there is a reference to such a "round and round venerable image". And an eulogy on a portrait Shōkai Reiken resembles himself to Bodhidharma. I discuss this aspect of Bodhidharma as a self-portrait later in this thesis.

234 Brinker-Kanazawa 1996: 48

235 Fontein-Hickman 1970: 102-104

236 Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:48

237 This practice was opposed by other Chan schools, and when the Weiyang school was absorbed into the Linji (Jp. Rinzai) branch (Fontein-Hickman 1970:102-104).

238 The ox-herding theme was a symbolic representation of the inner stiving for enlightenment through a set of paintings (see *Artibus Asiae* 1992/52). This can be deduced from some biographies of Guiyang monks (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:48).

239 Sørensen 1991: 207-233

These reduced images give space to the imagination, using a sign to indicate the figure; operating as a visual poetry (plates 90 and 91). Plate 16 shows how the one-brushstroke Bodhidharma-images developed and approached the image of the empty circle, the '*ensō*'.

Coloured models for monochrome ink compositions

In religious imagery copying and using models always had a great role. Even contemporary artists look back for patterns centuries before. I show just two examples, one from Japan, and one from Korea.
A painting by Gakuō Zōkyū (fl. 1504-1520) represents Bodhidharma in a natural setting, sitting under a tree, surrounded by rocks (plate 92). His bushy beard and eyebrows, round face, hooded robe appear again on the painting made by Baisō (1846-1921) centuries later (plate 93).
In Korea a composition by Kim Bo'eung presents Bodhidharma with big protruding eyes, sitting in a cave (plate 94), similar to the Bodhidharma painting by Kim Ilseop (1900-1990), even though the execution of the latter's painting is in colours and rich in details (plate 95). Kim Ilseop's disciple Sogong Yi Myeong'u (b.1923) depicted Bodhidharma with thick, parallel brushstrokes but the overall expression and appearance of the figure is similar to the figures of the previous two paintings (plate 96).

Nature setting versus empty background

Where the settings and outside circumstances are not indicated, then the patriarch was supposed to be present and being remembered during the rituals. So his presence and the connection with the institution is emphasized. Usually these Bodhidharma-paintings are a part of a group showing the patriarchs of the given lineage as we have seen in the earliest representations.[240]
In this sense Bodhidharma's presence is important as a patriarch, a link, therefore he is used in a Confucian-like culture-pattern.
On the other hand, paintings showing Bodhidharma in a landscape setting with the indication of the surrounding nature, stress the quality of his being and handle his imagery as an arhat. Sometimes using this representation, Bodhidharma also appears as a part of a group of arhats, indicating this very close connection. In this interpretation his imagery is connected to the Daoist ideals.

The monochrome ink paintings show common features with the first tradition, which show strong connections with the Confucian way of thinking. No wonder that the technique of ink monochrome started with the literati painting, and was usually connected to Confucian-oriented circles. They had strong contacts with the developing Chan school, and the artistic expression of

[240] However, Zhang Shengwen's (act.ca.1173-1176) Long Roll of Buddhist images (plate 26) and Dai Jin's (1388-1462) handscroll "Bodhidharma and the Six Patriarchs" (plate 38) show the six Chan patriarchs in a natural setting, but they are more similar to sets of arhats in their function than patriarch-portraits, as those scrolls were not used in temples in the context of rituals, but were executed for personal devotion. As a support we can mention the handscroll by Liang Kai (fl. thirteenth century), where Bodhidharma is represented in a natural setting (plate 37), similar to the previously mentioned handscrolls, though not with the Chan patriarchs, but amongst 'Eight eminent monks', thus emphasizing the quality and not the lineage context of Bodhidharma.

ink monochrome started to be used in the context of Chan Buddhism. It is common with the patriarch-type paintings and the ink-monochrome that in both of them the outer paraphernalia is neglected for the sake of the central image. But while the *chinsō*-type patriarch-painting is highly sophisticated and labour-consuming, emphasizing facial similarities and applied embellished decorations, the monochrome ink painting mode is highly individualistic. The resemblance of the depicted image with the patriarch is not important for the monochrome-ink painters, as the figure is supposed to be a sign, a symbol for the painter's personal experience and expression. It is a tool and expressional form of meditation, through which one can understand his "own Buddha nature". "Not depending on words and letters"- as the famous Chan stanza warns, however Bodhidharma's figure is nevertheless a sign, a symbol. Despite its seemingly contradictory nature, Bodhidharma is a symbol of 'non-symbol', giving freedom for the painter within the iconographic frame of representing the figure. Bodhidharma's apparent form on the paintings and the warnings in the accompanying inscriptions[241] usually serve to emphasize the phenomenon of identifying the depicted object or person with the real (this is how the most ancient representations worked, and how Bodhidharma as a patriarch is perceived in the temples during the rituals). But drawing attention to the tricks of the artist: as the famous illusionist, Rodolfo used to say before his performances: "Attention, I am cheating!"

In exactly the same way these images are drawing attention to the very nature of creation and perception. What these priest painters produced in ink monochrome centuries ago, became a central issue in modern art at the turn of the twentieth century in the Western world. Questioning and elucidating how we perceive works of art, resulted in art pieces very similar to the paintings by Chan/Zen masters, minimalist in their appearance and expressive in their rendering. No wonder then the modern fascination with Zen painting and its still pervading popularity.

3. Bodhidharma from the Back

Representations of Bodhidharma from the back became popular in Ming China, where printed books on iconographical schemes came to be circulated and widely used. The two most important printed books are the *Xianfo qi zong*, compiled in 1602 (plate 97);[242] and the *Sancai tuhui*, compiled in 1609 (plate 98).[243] Their compositions shows the patriarch from behind, sitting on

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241 Like the one on the painting of Nakahara Nantembō (plate 16/13and plate 91): "Is it our grand patriarch facing the wall or an eggplant from Yahata in Yamashiro?" To make sure, you should bite in it, we can say commenting his inscription, but it is only a painting, after all. Then one can realize that we can be led astray by our perception and common sense. As it was a usual method and aim for practicing Chan/Zen that the practitioner should be aware of his general way of thinking which is only a mental scheme, the reality is beyond its realm.

242 *Xianfo qi zong;* in Korean: *Hong ssi Seonbulgijong.* Compiled by Hong Yinming. Sakbuk: Jayu chulpansa, 1974

243 *Sancai tuhui.*Compiled by Wang Qi and Wang Siyi. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988;
and *Sancai tuhui.* Wang Qi zhuan ji; Huangsheng chongjiao. [China:s.n.] Ming Wanli *jiyou* [37 nian, 1609] (Huang sheng [Qing Qianlong] i.e. between 1736 and 1795) chong xiu.
In English: *Heaven and Earth: 120 Album Leaves from a Ming Encyclopaedia*, San-ts'ai t'u-hui, 1610. Selected and annotated by John A. Goodall. Translated from Chinese by Graham Hutt.1st ed. London: Lund Humphries, 1979. The English edition does not contain pictures of Bodhidharma.
In Korean: *Samjaedohwi.*

grass in front of a rock cliff. The rock wall and a seated figure in front of it show similarities in composition with Liu Songnian's (fl. ca. 1175-1207) arhat figure from his set of sixteen arhats (plate 99).[244] The band of clouds above and around the rock on the printed books recall the composition of Minchō and the later Ming Chinese frontal representations of arhats in caves.

In Korea the use of these pattern books can be traced back in many of the Jeoson architectural temple paintings as well as on paintings on paper and silk. Bodhidharma's nine years long meditation in front of the wall in a cave is a very widely used theme for painters. The coloured roll of fourteen masters by Un Limja dated 1698 follows the *Sancai tuhui* and the *Xianfo qizong* in its depiction of Bodhidharma but the colouring of the rock wall with green indicates much more of a perspective than a plain wall (plate 100).

There is a silk painting at Seon'am monastery representing thirty-three masters, as it is given in the *Baolin zhuan*, dated 801.[245] Among them Bodhidharma is the twenty-eighth master (plate 101). Here it is also very interesting how the artist interpreted the black and white print in colours. Here the wall is more like a cave, as the shadings on the rocks are made in just the opposite way to the pattern-prints.

On the temple architecture we can find similar representations but again with some misunderstanding of the story by using the colours. For example the wall paintings on the main hall of the Mihwang temple, in Haenam, South Jeolla province (mid. eighteenth century) (plate 102) and on the Geukak Hall of Hyeondeung temple in Gap'yeong, Gyeonggi province (beginning of the ninteenth century) (plate 103) show the patriarch as if he were looking out of a cave rather than contemplating in front of a wall.

A painting by Heo Ryeon (1809-1892) shows a young monk meditating on a rock plateau showing him in a frontal view (plate 104).[246] Behind him there are two branches of a tree. The composition is very possibly also inspired by the Chinese Encyclopaedia, the *Sancai tuhui*, not directly, but through other paintings. On the original models Bodhidharma was shown from behind, and very possibly the painter misinterpreted the tonsure on Bodhidharma's head and made a face from it on his painting. The painter followed the formal similarities regardless of the original stories for example ignoring the fact that Bodhidharma was an old man when he came to China. The misinterpretation of Bodhidharma as a young boy also occurred in the oeuvre of the famous Korean painter Kim Hongdo (1745-after 1814), and before that in the work of Shim Sajeong (1707-1769) who painted young boys crossing water on a reed.

Showing Bodhidharma from the back is still a popular representational mode in contemporary Korea, where we can find it for example in the oeuvre of Seok Jeng (born in 1927) (plate105).

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244 Now, only three hanging scrolls have survived from the set, preserved in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Published in: Fong 1996: pl. 94

245 Yampolsky 1967: 9

246 I have already referred to this painting when discussing the inscription of the name in the Bodhidharma painting in the Long Roll of Buddhist images (Taipei, National Palace Museum) (chapter III.1.a.4).

c. Bodhidharma's Crossing on a Reed

One of the most popular depictions of Bodhidharma shows him crossing the Yangzi river on a reed.
Among the earliest representations we can distinguish four different types:
The first type shows him as a stocky bearded, round-faced man in three-quarter view looking backwards and usually holding a staff in his hand.
The second and third prototypes show him also in three-quarter view and usually facing the way he is going with his hands usually covered with his robe. The difference between the second and the third types is whether or not Bodhidharma's head is covered with a cowl.
The fourth group of representations show Bodhidharma in profile. This is relatively rare though in the thirteenth century as well as in the seventeenth, we can find examples of it.
The distinctions between these four different representational modes later became to be blurred and the elements became to be combined. For example showing Bodhidharma facing backwards but not holding a staff or within the oeuvre of the same artist we can find pictures of Bodhidharma's crossing with covered head and without a hood (Fūgai Ekun (1568-1654), plates 106, 107).

1 Type 1. Bodhidharma with a Staff

One of the earliest paintings representing Bodhidharma of this type is a hanging scroll from the early fourteenth century preserved in the temple called Jōdō-ji, Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan (plate 108).
On the scroll Bodhidharma is shown as a bearded, bald man with a prominent belly who throws back his head as if he were glaring backwards in anger. A large, round halo surrounds his head and marks him as a saint. His facial features, the fluttering garment, the priest's staff, (Skrt. *khakkbara*; Ch. *xichang*; Jp. *shakujō*), the reed and the waves of the river are painted in fine, flexible lines. The face shows similarities with a Bodhidharma-bust dated 1326 from the Kubō collection, Japan in regards of the short nose, round beard, and big eyes (plate 109).
Brinker and Kanazawa consider the Jōdō-ji Bodhidharma as an important early example of Zen Buddhist figure painting in Japan. The inscription on the painting is damaged, faded, and partially undecipherable. It refers to Bodhidharma's long trip from India and his encounter with the Emperor Wu of Liang.[247] The inscription was written by Yishan Yining (Jp. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317), thus the latest date for executing this painting is 1317.
Brinker and Kanazawa note that its style is different from the wet washes (Jp. *unsen*) and powerful brushstrokes usually preferred by Zen painters but was executed in the "style of linear painting on white" (Ch. *baimiao*; Jp. *hakubyōtai*).[248] This technique of brushwork was a favourite style for

[247] Fontein-Hickman 1970: 53-56

[248] Brinker-Kanazawa 1996: 214

Arhat paintings among Buddhist artists of the Jiangnan region in China.[249] And not only the style, but the composition itself, also recall the arhat-imagery of the earlier periods in China.
On the scroll attributed to Lu Lengjia (fl. ca. 730-758) we can see a stocky, bearded arhat with a staff in his hand, surrounded by water as he is sitting on a little rocky island, facing a dragon emerging out of the waves (seventeenth arhat from the set of arhats on the painting attributed to Lu Lengjia, Palace Museum, Beijing) (plate 110).
There is another iconographical source for the depiction of Bodhidharma as a stocky bearded man with a staff. This is an album leaf representing arhats painted by the famous Northern Song literati painter Li Gonglin (ca.1041-1106), (plate 111).[250] This image is much closer in similarity with the Bodhidharma-paintings showing a stocky bearded man wearing earrings holding a staff, crossing the waves on a reed and looking backwards. This representation is not usually discussed when dealing with the crossing genre of Bodhidharma though it deserves a greater attention. Even though the figure is not named as Bodhidharma per se, the iconography suggests the connection with the Bodhidharma representations and stresses my thesis that the Bodhidharma iconography is a derivative of the arhat-imagery.
This type of stocky figure can be seen in the thirteenth-fourteenth century in the Jōdō-ji hanging scroll as well as in the paintings now in the possession of the Tokugawa Bunko collection, Japan (plates 112.a.b) and a composition in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (plate 113).
This type of representation was used in the Korean Bodhidharma-paintings, too (Paek Eunpae (1820-1900s) plate 114; Kim Eunho (1892-1979) plate 115; Cho Seokjin (1853-1920) plate 116).
These Korean paintings follow the Jōdō-ji type of representation but they have an interesting different feature: the straw hat attached to Bodhidharma's back. How can we explain this version? It is not, as one can think a duplication of the aureole around Bodhidharma's head, but it is an addition influenced by similar iconography representing arhats by Li Gonglin (plate 117)[251] and the Daoist immortal Chen Nan in the Ming period. In an example by the Ming Chinese painter Liu Jun (plate 118),[252] Chen Nan is crossing the water like Bodhidharma (in contemporary Ming Chinese paintings we can see also similar compositions, plate 119) but under the feet of Chen Nan we cannot see the reed (though we know a painting by the Korean painter Yun Duseo (1668-1715) where he also represented a Bodhidharma-like figure, holding a priest's staff and standing on the waves, but without the reed under his feet, plate 120).
The immortal Chen Nan is wearing a straw hat attached to his back, in exactly the same fashion as some Chinese and the Korean paintings of the crossing Bodhidharma. Therefore, I do not find it impossible that the images of Daoist immortals like Chen Nan and Bodhidharma representations shared a mutual influence.
In the chapter on the Korean Bodhidharma painting (Chapter VI) I discuss the iconographical relationships of the immortal-paintings of Bodhidharma's crossing, and highlight some problems concerning the identification of Korean Bodhidharma images.[253]

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249 ibid.

250 In the Freer collection, Smithsonian Institute,Washington. Published by Meyer 1923:plate XVI

251 Published in Meyer 1923: pl.XVIII

252 Published in Suzuki Kei 1983: JT-025

253 See Chapter VI. Bodhidharma in Korea. 'Kim Hongdo and Bodhidharma as an Immortal'.

2 Type 2. Bodhidharma with a hood

The second very common type of representation of Bodhidharma crossing on a reed shows him wearing a hood.
Among them we can differentiate two groups. The first one shows the patriarch crossing towards left; the second group shows him proceeding towards the right.

Bodhidharma facing to the left

One of the earliest paintings of representing the patriarch wearing a cowl on his head during his crossing of the river is a monochrome ink painting executed before 1249, now in the Tokugawa Art Museum in Nagoya, Japan (plate 121).[254] The painting bears an inscription by Wuzhun Shifan (1178-1249):

> He rudely offended the Emperor Liang,
> And in deep sorrow he crossed the river.
> For nine years he sat meditating in the cold,
> And repeatedly he defeated his opponents in debate.
> One flower and five leaves all grow on their own,
> Unaffected by the intentional blowing of the spring wind.[255]

The fine brushstrokes make the image almost invisible. This transparent technique is called *wanglianghua* in Chinese (*moryōga* in Japanese), which supposedly conveys the Chan conception of emptiness and the illusory nature of existence.[256]
This Bodhidharma painting is the central panel of a triptych, where on the right *Yushanzhu* is riding on a donkey; on the left *Zheng huangnin* is riding on a water buffalo.[257]
A rubbing of a stele from the Shaolin monastery where Bodhidharma supposedly spent his nine year vigil preserved for our age show that this theme was known and represented already in the eleventh century (plate 122).[258]
The rubbing was taken from the stone stele in the Yuan period in 1308, however in the inscription accompanying the image there is an encomium by the Northern Song emperor Renzong (reigned 1023-1064).[259] Therefore, it is possible that the design of the image follows the iconography of that period.[260]

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254 Published in Li 1971:53-54 and Brinker-Kramers-Ouwehand 1982:116 fig.14

255 In the fifth line the flower is a reference to the story when Śākyamuni Buddha transmitted the teachings to Kāśyapa. The five leaves or petals are reference to the five schools of Chan Buddhism. (Weiyang, Yunmen, Fayan, Caotong and Linji), Li 1971:53-54

256 Fong 1992 Cf. Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:129

257 Li 1971:53-54

258 The picture was published in: Kidō 1978: pl. 11, p. 199

259 Lachman 1993: 255 Cf. Daijō 1939-1940: Vol. 2. pl. 97

260 Though Lachman compares the waves on this painting with the watery surface of Zhao Gan's (Fl. 961-975) "River Journey at First Snowfall"in the Palace Museum, Beijing, and Li Tang's (ca. 1050-1130) "Mountains by the River" (Lachman 1993:255), I would rather compare these water renderings with

The Bodhidharma represented on the rubbing has a halo around his head which is not found on the paintings where Bodhidharma is wearing a hood, but very usual on the ones in the first group where the patriarch is looking backwards and carrying a staff in his hand.[261]
On a very similar composition in colours on silk preserved in Japan in the temple Nanzen-ji in Kyoto Bodhidharma is wearing a red robe which he holds up in front of his chest making his hand invisible (plate 123).[262] His figure is more lively compared to the rubbing from the Shaolin temple, indicating the movement of the figure with the flowing edges of his robe and the more lively depiction of the reed. The inscription on the painting was written by Kian Soen (1261-1313), the second abbot of Nanzen-ji.[263]
Another red-robed Bodhidharma painting in the collection of the Gyokuzō-in, Kyoto, Japan, by an unknown artist with the inscription of Kozan Ikkyō (ca. 1295-1360) shows similar features to the previous paintings in its composition. However, its execution is more refined, even indicating the patterns of the cloths under Bodhidharma's robe (plate 124).[264]
The monochrome ink painting with the colophon by Chūgan Engetsu (1300-1375) shows similarities in compactness with the previous image, but here Bodhidharma's hand is slightly visible as he holds his robe and under his feet no water or reed is indicated, only a wavy line (plate 125).[265]
On the finger-painting representing Bodhidharma crossing the river made by the Korean painter Shim Sajeong (1707-1769) he represents the patriarch wearing a hood on his head (plate 126). His robe is not the traditional red or white, but a bluish indigo colour.[266]

Bodhidharma facing towards the right

Among the earliest images showing the hooded patriarch crossing the river on a reed while facing towards the right, is a monochrome ink painting by Jitang Liyaofu (Jp. Kidō Rigyōfu) (plate 127), bearing an inscription by Yishan Yining (1247-1317) which says:

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the wall painting details of the Chunyang hall from 1310-1358, in Yongle temple, Yongji, Shanxi province (Maeda 1971: 247-290). However, on the rubbing the waves are more simplified, but common in them the parallel lines within the contours of the waves.
These features though does not prevent us for saying that the image does not convey the features of the eleventh century. Usually the main composition is the one which is transmitted through the times, the details are more often follow the fashion of the era the image was made in. (Cf. the investigations of the physician- art historian Giovanni Morelli (1819-1891). Morelli dedicated himself to promoting his new scientific method of connoisseurship, whereby he revised the attributions of paintings in public and private collections in Italy and Germany. (E. Wind: 'Critique of Connoisseurship', *Art and Anarchy* (London, 1963), pp. 32–51, 139–53 ;R. Wollheim: 'Giovanni Morelli and the Origins of Scientific Connoisseurship', *On Art and the Mind* (London, 1973)

261 Li 1971:57 writes that the halo around Bodhidharma's head is "an entirely new feature" in 1480, which is not the case (Cf. Lachman 1993:255).

262 Covering the hands of Bodhidharma and Śākyamuni Buddha with their robes on Chan Buddhist paintings might be used deliberately by the artist in order to avoid to depict a specific hand gesture or mudra thus this compositional scheme might be understood as an "anti-mudra". This anti-mudra then can be a symbol of the wordless transmission. (Seckel 1965:35-72 Cf. Brinker 1973:22-23)

263 Kanazawa 1979:54-55 pl.25; Tokyo 1988: no.6

264 Reproduced by Kanazawa 1979:54-55; Li 1971: 60 and in Tokyo 1988: no.64

265 Reproduced by Kanazawa 1979: 52-53 fig. 22

266 Choi 1998:69-75, pl.37

"Under my feet there is depth and clearness."[267]

The painting was executed by the 'blown ink' technique.[268] The width of the lines is sensitively differentiated on the robe, indicating the edges of the robe with wider strokes than the folds and the outlines. The cloth under Bodhidharma's outer robe is painted with small parallel lines and a wavy outline on the bottom. The face and the feet are also handled with similar small and thin brushstrokes. The water is not indicated under Bodhidharma's feet as is usual on the ink monochrome paintings of this abbreviated style.

This painting was taken as a model by the famous Japanese artist, Kanō Motonobu (1476-1559) for his composition showing the crossing Bodhidharma together with Śākyamuni Buddha holding a flower and Linji cultivating a pine tree (plate 128).[269]

The flowing hood of Bodhidharma in the Kanō Motonobu-painting appears on a later Korean painting by the monk painter Gyeam dated 1812 in Sangju (Gyeonbuk province), on the wall of the Patriarchs' Hall at Namjang temple (plate 129).[270] The execution is stiff, and Bodidharma's features are more East Asian than Indian, he has light skin, smaller eyes, and he is not so hairy, his beard is like the beard of East Asian people. On his waist he wears a gourd bottle.

An ink painting from the Yuan dynasty from the Yabumoto collection in Japan shows a more detailed rendering, and very similar to the paintings where Bodhidharma's robe is flowing towards his destination (plate 130).[271] Another similar painting from around the same time is an ink painting in colours on silk with an inscription by Tōkoku Myōhō of Mansu-ji, Bungo prefecture, Kyūshū, Japan (plate 131).[272] The main difference between the two paintings is how Bodhidharma holds his robe.[273]

The hooded Bodhidharma appears on a late sixteenth century painting by Ding Yunpeng (1547-1628) now in the Charles A. Drenowatz collection in the Museum Rietberg, Zürich (plate 132). This figure is wearing red robe, as the majority of the Bodhidharma-representations, but his facial features with the slightly tilted eyes and eyebrows are more Chinese than usual, though his hooked nose and the broad bearded jaw suggest a somewhat foreign character. The uniqueness of the painting is the rendering of the waves of water which fill out almost the entire frame of the picture, forming a wavy background.[274]

The hooded Bodhidharma remains a popular representational mode in the later periods as well.

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267 In the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Reproduced in Awakawa 1970: fig.17; Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:126-129, fig.89 (detail). Translation from Awakawa 1970: text to fig.17

268 "blown ink (Jp. fukizumi): a technique of spattering ink on a painted surface by blowing it through a hollow tube, usually a reed or bamboo" (Kanazawa 1979:197).

269 Reproduction in Choi 1995: pl.15

270 Published in Kim Nami 2000: 92-93

271 Reproduction from Suzuki Kei 1983: Vol.4. JP11-012

272 Now in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

273 Reproduced in Li 1971: 58-59

274 Reproduced in colour in Choi 1995: pl. 10.and in black and white: Li 1971: pl.1

3 Type 3. Bodhidharma without a hood

One of the oldest known crossing Bodhidharma paintings showing him without a hood is dated to the early thirteenth century. It's painter is unknown, but we know that the colophon is written by Changweng Rujing (1163-1228), a famous monk, teacher of Dōgen Kigen (1200-1253) the founder of the Sōtō Zen school in Japan, when he stayed in China as a pilgrim (plate 133).[275] Unfortunately this painting was lost during the Second World War, and only photographs remain.[276] The painting can be dated by its inscription before 1228, before the death of the writer of the colophon. The figure of Bodhidharma is bald, having a beard and earring, his robe is fluttering in the wind. His scarf is shaping into a spiral which reminds us of the twelfth century arhat painting in the Freer Gallery of Art attributed to Fanlong, the famous painter monk (plate 134), who had direct contacts with Li Gonglin,[277] the Northern Song literati painter, who painted the earliest existent Bodhidharma-paintings. The fluttering robe is similar in the two paintings.
Other paintings of Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed in the thirteenth century (Kajūrō Kikuya Collection, plate 135; British Museum, plate 136) do not show the scarf around Bodhidharma's neck, but more strikingly depict the lifting up of the robe with covered hands. On the crossing Bodhidharma-painting in the British Museum the waves are handled in a very similar manner as on "The Red Cliff" by Li Song (fl. ca.1190-1225) in Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City.[278]
An important crossing Bodhidharma-painting from the Yuan period with the inscription by Zhongfeng Mingben (1263-1323) shows the patriarch seemingly without a beard, and delineates the robe with bald wide rough brushstrokes (plate 137).
The inscription of the painting says:

> "Down the ten thousand li of the Yangzi river
> [he] rode only on a reed.
> If one should ask how,
> [It is] a single transmission, pointing directly [to the mind].
> From now on, who will ride with him?
> [Zhongfeng] Mingben of Huanzhu[an] reverently folds his hands."[279]

Another Yuan period Bodhidharma painting showing him without a hood and crossing on a reed, in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art (plate 138) bears the inscription by the Suzhou monk Liaoan Qingyu (1288-1363):

> "Winds rise from the reed flowers, the waves are high,
> It's a long way to go beyond the cliff of the Shao-shih mountain.

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275 About Dōgen's years in China and how he became the disciple of Changweng Rujing, see: Takashi James Kodera, *Dōgen's Formative Years in China*.London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980: 51-57

276 Brinker 1973: 30

277 Lawton 1973:98-101, no. 20

278 Maeda 1971:pl.9. Cf. Laurence Sickman, "Four Album Leaves by Li Sung", *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin*, (March 1959): fig.3; James Cahill, The Art of Southern Sung China, N.Y.1962: pl.22.

279 Translation by Li 1971:56, with slight alterations.

Above the worlds of kalpas a flower is opening into five petals,
So that your barefoot heels are just fine for the whipping rattans."[280]

Very similar to this composition is a painting by Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645) (plate 139), the famous samurai who in his late years under the name 'Niten' started painting, now in the Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation, Nagoya.[281] The robe of Bodhidharma is painted with only a few brushstrokes, but the reed under his feet is depicted with many nervous and sketchy lines different from the previous examples.

An earlier and very important image is a rubbing made from a stone stele of the Tianshun period of the Ming dynasty (1457-1464) in the Shaolin monastery (plate 140).[282] This composition shows the patriarch without a hood, with glaring eyes, hairy chest and wearing an earring. His hands are covered with his robe as we have seen in several other examples.

In the late Ming dynasty a more refined style became popular where the painters used fine delineations and big surfaces of clear colours. Among the examples of this style we can find depictions of Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed, revealing his bald head, represented here by a colour painting on paper by Jin Gyeyu (1558-1639) (plate 141). This style arrived to Japan with the *Huangbo* (Jp. Ōbaku) school of Buddhism.[283]

On the painting of the crossing Bodhidharma by Ōbaku Itsunen (1592-1688) (plate 142), one of the first Ōbaku monks who went to Japan, the patriarch is handled a very similar manner to the previous Chinese painting. The figure also has a short beard which is a characteristic of Ōbaku paintings of this period.[284] The inscription on the painting was written by Yinyuan [Jp.Ingen] (1592- 1673):

"From a thousand miles away he arrived by boat.
Pressed for answers by the Liang Emperor, he puffed out his cheeks
And said he did not know; even sages could not understand him.
If someone had not cut off an arm to gain the master's attention,
How could the five petals open?" [285]

Yinyuan wrote the inscription to another crossing Bodhidharma painting executed by the Japanese painter Kawamura Jakushi (1629-1707) (plate 143). This painting shows Bodhidharma in a somewhat different way, showing his right hand in which he holds a scroll-like stick. He wears trousers under his robe and two ribbon-like cloths are revealed under the robe. The front teeth of Bodhidharma are shown with a gap between them. In Kawamura Jakushi's oeuvre we can find a bit different crossing Bodhidharma representation, showing the patriarch facing backwards,

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280 Translation from Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty*, Cleveland 1968 cat. no. 209)

281 Reproduced in Hisamatsu 1971: pl.107

282 Kidō 1978:300, pl.12.; Hushi Wencun 1994. vol. 12:137-150, frontispiece.

283 More about the Ōbaku school see: Addiss 1978

284 Addiss 1978: no.1

285 Translation by Addiss 1978: no.1

hiding his hands. His robe is flowing backwards as if he was facing towards the wind (plate 144).[286]

An ink monochrome Ōbaku painting by the Chinese monk Xinyue [Jp.Tōkō Shin'etsu] (1639-1696) who went to Japan, shows Bodhidharma again looking backwards (plate 145). The inscription in Xinyue's hand is rendered in elegant clerical script:

> "In the Liang Imperial Palace he would not explain who he was,
> But crossed the river with sealed lips and piercing eyes
> Until he arrived at complete tranquillity:
> A single flower, five petals together in the spring."[287]

Later in Japan in the manner of the spontaneous ink monochrome ink paintings by monk painters, Kōgan Gengei's (1747-1821) painting shows Bodhidharma without a hood, turning backwards slightly as the Bodhidharma on the previous painting, but with a more loose abbreviated brushwork (plate 146).[288]

The inscription says:

> "Anyone who understands Daruma's actions can do likewise!"[289]

The Japanese monk painter Rozan Ekō (1865-1944) shows Bodhidharma's crossing scene slightly differently to the previous pictures we have discussed so far (plate 147). On this painting the reed has short leaves and Bodhidharma has a long straight beard which recalls the paintings by Sengai Gibon (1750-1838) where the figures including Bodhidharma wear similar beards.[290]

In Tongdosa, one of the three main temples in Korea, a Japanese painting of the crossing Bodhidharma can be found executed by the Japanese monk Sōen (active in the first half of the twentieth century) (plate 148). We know that Sōen gave this painting to the Korean monk painter Baek Hakmyeong (1867-1929) as a present. Baek Hakmyeoung also painted Bodhidharma crossing on a reed with bold wide brushstrokes at the robe and thin delicate lines at the face, looking backwards (plate 149) .[291] The inscription on the painting is the following:

> "Even if I have turned the axis of the world, the Earth does not move.
> Even if I want to pull down the boundaries of the Heaven,
> The Heaven becomes higher and higher than before.
> Comfortably I took an iron boat and returned to Shaolin temple,
> Until today in the world wind and waves are raising.
> In the year of imsul (1922), mid-autumn,
> Wolmyeong[292] Baek Hakmyeong."[293]

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286 Colour reproduction in McFarland 1987:23, pl.6

287 Addiss 1989: pl.44

288 Stevens-Yelen 1990: 88-89, pl.21

289 Stevens-Yelen 1990: 88-89

290 Suzuki 1971 (1985)

291 This painting is also preserved at the Tongdosa Temple Museum. Choi 1998:140-142, pl.102

292 His Buddhist name.

293 Translation by me with the help of the Korean transcription given by Choi 1998:140-141

An almost similar composition by the Korean monk painter Song Doseong Jusan (1907-1946) (plate 150) in its inscription refers to the fictitious encounter of Bodhidharma and the Liang Emperor Wu:

> "Obviously there is no sacred thing.
> Who can be the proper person for the sacred things?
> Who is the person who treats me-I do not know.
> Consequently I cross the deep river
> And still suffer very much." [294]

In Korea in the Haein-sa monastery where the Tripitaka Koreana is preserved, on a wall painting Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed is represented without a hood, facing towards the viewer, with a short beard wearing an orange robe (plate 151).[295]
The contemporary Korean monk painters also favour the crossing patriarch without a hood (Won Dam, born 1925 plate 152; Seok Jeong, born 1927, plate 153).

4 Type 4. Bodhidharma's Crossing in Profile

Among the paintings showing Bodhidharma crossing on a reed, profile representations are relatively rare, but some do appear from the thirteenth century until recently in the oeuvre of artists handling the Bodhidharma theme.
One of the earliest representations was made by the Japanese monk Fumon Mukan who went to China in 1251 and stayed there for more than ten years.[296] He was connected with the temple Tōfuku-ji, later the Nanzen-ji in Kyōto (plate 154). On his painting Bodhidharma bends forward forming a 'c-shape' with his body, his robe billowing in front of him. He has a sharp black beard and wears a big decorative earring in his ear.
From the early Yuan period we have an interesting painting showing Bodhidharma in profile crossing on a reed attributed to the Indian painter monk Yin Tuoluo who went to China to propagate Buddhism (plate 155).[297] The robe of Bodhidharma is indicated with only a few simple brushstrokes in lighter ink then emphasized with darker patches on the neck, the lifted hand at the bottom edge of the robe covered by it. The face of Bodhidharma is not so morose as usual, facing upwards slightly. The ear of the figure is bent backwards in exactly the same manner as on Muqi's paintings.
The painting by Zheng Zhong from the early seventeenth century shows Bodhidharma almost entirely covered with a red robe, leaving only a small part of his face, suggesting a bulky bearded Indian man, visible (plate 156).[298] The famous Korean seventeenth century painter Kim

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294 Translation by me with the help of the Korean transcription given by Choi 1998:143-145

295 *Byokhwa ro poneun pulgyoiagi* [Buddhist stories seen on wall-paintings], Seoul 1996

296 Li 1971:1971:58

297 *Kokka* Vol. 33. p.215, pl.VII

298 *Shina Nanga Taisei*, Tōkyō 1935-37:pl.76 Cf. Li 1971:64

Myeongguk (1600-1662) also represented Bodhidharma from profile in the painting showing his crossing on a reed (plate 157). The painting is executed in the fashion of the spontaneous monochrome ink paintings. Bodhidharma's head is covered with a hood, his facial features are indicated with only a few wide lighter brushstrokes; the robe is depicted with darker lines. The signature of the painting says 'drunken old man', a sobriquet Kim Myeongguk preferred to use, related to anecdotes about his own nature as a carefree drunkard.[299]

The famous Japanese monk painter Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) represented Bodhidharma's crossing in profile (plate 158).[300] The figure is shown slightly bent, with his glaring bulb of eye looking backwards. His head is uncovered and almost completely bald. The brushstrokes of the robe are very lively and dynamic, and suggest the quick movement with which Hakuin painted it.

This compositional mode is still popular, for example the contemporary Korean painter Seok Jeong (born 1927) also represented Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed in profile in the year 1977, as well as his three-quarter view representations which he painted more frequently (plate 159).[301]

5. Bodhidharma's Crossing in Textual Sources Compared with Visual Sources. The Problem of Primal Influence

The theme of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangzi river on a reed did not exist from the very beginning of the Bodhidharma-legend. In the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (dated 645) there is no mention of crossing the river, we are only informed by the text that Bodhidharma first reached the Liu Song territory (i.e. South China) when he arrived to China, and then he went north to the state of Wei. The *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* (dated 732) though it contains Bodhidharma's unsuccessful encounter with the Liang Emperor Wudi (reigned 502-549) (see p.19) and then Bodhidharma's departure to the Shaolin monastery, also does not mention the crossing of the river. The *Lidai fabao ji* (dated 774) ; the *Baolin zhuan* (dated 801); the *Jiu Tang shu* (before the mid. tenth century) is the same in this respect.

The *Zutang ji* (dated 952) says that "Bodhidharma secretly went to the Northern shore of the river". The eleventh century sources, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (dated 1004) and the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* (dated 1061) speak about Bodhidharma's crossing of the Yangzi river but do not mention the reed.

Fontein and Hickman traced back the first literary evidence of Bodhidharma's crossing of the Yangzi on a reed in the *Wujia zhengzong zan* (dated 1254)[302] which says:

> "[Bodhidharma] broke off a reed, crossed the river, arrived at Shaolin(si), and faced the wall for nine years."[303]

A slightly later source, the *Shi shi tongjian* (dated 1270) describes the episode as follows:

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299 Im Deoksu 1999:34-75; colour reproduction in Choi 1998: pl. 20

300 Awakawa 1970: fig. 72

301 Reproduction from Choi 1995: pl.33

302 Fontein-Hickman 1970:54; Brinker-Kanazawa 1996: 214

303 In Chinese: "*zhelu dujiang zhi Shaolin mianli jiu nian*" (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:214).

"On the 19th [day], he consequently departed Liang. He broke off a reed, crossed the river, and hastened north, and on the 23rd [day] he was at the border of Wei."[304]

Why did the reed appear in the Bodhidharma legend from the thirteenth century onwards?
Fontein-Hickman explain the phenomenon by suggesting that where the previous sources used the character meaning "stealthily" later texts have the two-character phrase "[he] broke off a reed".[305]
"Although this modification may be a result of some misreading"- as Fontein and Hickman explain -, which often occurs in the Chinese literary transmission, they believe it cannot be impossible that "it represents a little selective rewriting".[306]
Brinker and Kanazawa also explain this episode in a similar way, saying that "perhaps the legend is based on a misunderstanding, the wrong interpretation of a passage in a text, or on an embellishment with the intent to save Bodhidharma's honour after his failure with the Liang emperor Wu."[307]
But it is interesting why the authors of these textual sources had chosen the reed as a mean of transportation. Were there any predecessors of this motif ?
Is it true that the textual sources influenced primarily the visual sources of the representation of this legendary story?
As we have seen, the visual representations of crossing the water on a reed antedate the occurrence of Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed in the textual sources (see the album leaf of Li Gonglin (ca.1041-1106) representing arhats crossing the sea (plate 111); the rubbing from the stele at the Shaolin monastery with the encomium by the Northern Song emperor Renzong (reigned 1023-1064) (plate 121); a hanging scroll from the famous Daitoku-ji set of the five hundred arhats, painted by Zhou Jichang (fl. in the second half of the twelfth century) in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (plate 160); the lost early thirteenth century ink painting with the inscription by Changweng Rujing (1163-1228) among others) (plate 133).
There always arise several artistic problems in visual representations of written texts. It is possible to write without giving the details of the story (how the depicted person looked like exactly, what did he wear, how did he travel to get to the north?). A text can afford to concentrate on the most important abstract ideas, but for envisioning a written story artists need to represent even those details which were not mentioned in the text. Therefore, visual sources are more interesting for getting to know a given culture, as they reveal other aspects than those that are stated in the religious texts.
Meyer Shapiro writes about this problem in his work *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text:*
"If some illustrations of a text are extreme reductions of a complex narrative - a mere emblem of the story - others enlarge the text, adding details, figures, and a setting not given in the written sources. Sometimes the text itself is not specific enough to determine a picture, even in the barest form. Where the book of Genesis tells that Cain killed Abel, one can hardly illustrate the story

304 Fontein-Hickman 1970: 54; Brinker-Kanazawa 1996: 214

305 Fontein-Hickman 1970: 54

306 ibid.

307 Brinker-Kanazawa 1996: 214

without showing how the murder was done. But no weapon is mentioned in the text and the artists have to invent the means."[308]

However, the reed was not an obvious vehicle for crossing the river, and if he had used a boat, there would have been nothing to tell. So then we can ask again why it was chosen after all? Our investigation leads to other visual sources to answer the question.

Artists usually use previously existing representational modes, sometimes unintentionally form new representations.[309]

What were the sources then for the representations of Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed?

The 'arhats crossing the river' theme antedates Bodhidharma's crossing, and as we have seen, the represented arhats on these paintings are the very close predecessors of the Bodhidharma-paintings.[310] These arhats are closely connected with the Daoist immortals who are often described as crossing the sea riding on various imaginary vehicles or on barefoot (as in the the coloured ink painting by Yan Hui representing the immortal Zhongli Quan (plate 162), or the fifteenth century painting by Shang Xi (fl. 1426-1435), (plate 161).

The other similar compositional scheme which may had an impact on the Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed - theme is Śākyamuni returning from the mountains (Ch. Shijia chushan, Jp. Shussan Shaka).[311] This theme is missing from the traditional sources of Śākyamuni's life, but is an important episode for the Chan school from the Northern Song period where the historical Buddha was seen in this context as a human being like Bodhidharma pursuing the spiritual goal of enlightenment.[312]

One of the earliest representations is an ink painting in the collection of the Seattle Art Museum which was copied from a twelfth century Chinese prototype in the Kōzan-ji workshop near Kyōto, Japan where one of the earliest Bodhidharma-representations comes from (plate 163).[313] Śākyamuni appears on these paintings in almost exactly the same way as Bodhidharma (see for example the Bodhidharma and the Shussan Shaka compositions by Sesshū (1420-1506); plates 164, 165). Both figures have beards, usually wear earrings and a flowing robe which they hold in front of the chest, hiding their hands with it. To determine whether Bodhidharma's crossing or the Shussan Shaka theme was the first and which influences the other is very difficult. Lachman drew the attention to the fact that these similarities between the representations of these two Buddhist personalities are not only 'typological' and does not agree with Brinker who says that "the two

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308 Shapiro 1973:11 Cf. Lachman 1993:258

309 Weitzmann 1986. E.H. Gombrich also writes accordingly in his famous book *Art and Illusion* that "the familiar will always remain the likely starting point for the rendering of the unfamiliar; an existing representation will always exert its spell over the artist, even as he strives to record the truth."(Gombrich 1961:82 Cf. Lachman 1993:258)

310 Lachman (1993:259) writes that this topic "known primarily through Ming and Qing examples", but we have seen previously in this chapter that there are extant earlier examples, too.

311 This topic is also influenced by the arhat paintings of the previous times. See again the Five Hundred Arhats on the Daitoku-ji set of arhats, painted by Zhou Jichang and Lin Tinggui, 1178-1188; Cf. Brinker's article on the Shussan Shaka theme in Song and Yuan painting (Brinker 1973: fig.6).

312 Brinker 1973:21

313 Brinker 1973:fig.1. Cf. Sherman E. Lee: "Japanese Monochrome Painting at Seattle", *Artibus Asiae* 14.1/2. (1951): 43-61

subjects have basically nothing in common, except for the fact that both personages are Indian protagonists of Ch'an Buddhism".[314]

I agree with Howard Rogers who writes "that the similarity of the two representations suggests that the artists followed a common prototype",[315] which is none other than the representations of the arhats as I try to prove with my thesis. The figures of Bodhidharma and Śākyamuni can be identified by small iconographical details like the uśniśa on Buddha's head and the reed under Bodhidharma's feet. Roger speaks about the "blurring of iconographical lines and the reduction of complex subjects to formulae" as a decline in Chan Buddhism itself.[316] Lachman points out that these dynamics which Rogers looks down upon were "intentional and effective".[317] He argues that Bodhidharma and the historical Buddha had not only formal similarities but they had very much in common.

Another visual parallel with the 'Bodhidharma Crossing the river on a reed' theme is the representation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with a willow branch and crossing on a lotus leaf. An early example from a Japanese private collection is published by Toda Teisuke (plate 166).[318] This painting like the Shussan Shaka from the Seattle Museum, also comes from the Kōzan-ji workshop, and very possibly it is also a Japanese copy of an earlier Chinese prototype.[319] The composition and the execution of these two paintings also show similarities. We know that in sources from the twefth century Bodhidharma was regarded as the avatar of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, therefore the similarity cannot be a mere incident.[320]

In conclusion, we can say that Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed is not a biographical narrative as it was usually believed, but a "layered and polysemous icon" as Lachman also pointed out.[321] Bodhidharma's crossing image has close connections with the arhats and immortals crossing the sea, to "attain nirvana by crossing to the other shore"[322], and Śākyamuni Buddha's emerging from the mountains. And we have seen, the textual sources do not necessarily influence the imagery, but images have a usually a much stronger impact on the human mind; David Freedberg argues in his book about *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*[323] "the power of images to evoke human responses is much greater than is usually admitted".

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314 Brinker, "Shussan Shaka in Sung and Yüan Painting", *Ars Orientalis* 1973: 29-30

315 Howard Rogers: "The Reluctant Messiah: Śākyamuni Emerging from the Mountains", *Sophia International Review* 5, (1983):29, Cf. Lachman 1993:262

316 Rogers 1983: 29

317 Lachman 1993:262

318 Toda Teisuke: "Hakubyō Yōryū Kannon zu" [Image of the white robed Avalokiteśvara with a willow branch], *Kokka* 1128, (1989):47-49

319 Lachman 1993: 263

320 See *Biyan lu* (The Record of the Emerald Cliff), dated 1125

321 Lachman 1993: 239-267

322 See Wen Fong 1958

323 Lachman 1993:267 note 54. Cf. David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1989: 1

d. Bodhidharma with One Shoe

This episode of Bodhidharma's life is not so often represented as the scene of Bodhidharma's crossing of the river.

The earliest extant representation of Bodhidharma with a shoe in his hand is a rubbing made of a stone stele dated to the Daan reign period of the Jin dynasty (1209-1212) (plate 7). On this representation Bodhidharma is bald and beardless and wears earrings as he does in another rubbing from the Shaolin monastery we have already discussed which represents the patriarch from a frontal view (plate 75).

A Ming dynasty rubbing from China shows the patriarch crossing the river and carrying his shoe on a rod (plate 167).

In the seventeenth century a painting with an inscription by Mokuan Sōen (?) (1611-1684) shows Bodhidharma as a giant emerging from a thick layer of clouds, holding a big decorated shoe in his left hand, while holding his robe with his right. His head is covered with his robe, his face is monster-like with his glaring eyes and his two prominent front teeth (plate 168).

Obviously this kind of representation did not become very popular because of its complexity.

In the Ōbaku school when this theme was represented by Yiran (Jp.Itsunen) with the inscription by Yinyuan (Jp. Ingen; 1592-1673) the composition again also not so powerful and not too obvious. Bodhidharma is shown seated, his head and entire body covered with his robe, only his left hand can be seen with which he holds his shoe (plate 169).

On the versions of this theme executed by Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) one is dated 1757 (Ryūkyū-ji; plate 170), and another which is a central scroll of a triptych (plate 171), we can see the struggle of the artist to depict the patriarch with his single shoe. The traditional representation when Bodhidharma's hands are covered with his robe and the shoe which needs to be held makes it difficult to represent the patriarch without showing him in an unnatural position. Therefore Hakuin attempted to avoid the representation of the figure and used only the attributes of Bodhidharma: the single shoe and the reed, to symbolize him (plate 172).

A more fortunate composition is the painting of this topic by Takujū Kosen (1760-1833) who shows the patriarch in profile, holding his shoe in front of him (plate 173).

The famous Korean monk, Jung Kwang who was known better as 'the Mad Monk' or 'The Dirty Mop' (1935-2002) painted Bodhidharma as carrying his shoe hanging from a rod on his shoulder (plate 174).

e. Half-body Representations

The most frequent compositional mode is the half-body representation of Bodhidharma. The majority of the paintings show him in three-quarter view, either hooded or without a hood.

Less popular is showing the patriarch from profile In Japan, among the first examples of this type of composition is painted by the shōgun, Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386-1428), now in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln (plate 175). Later, we can see Bodhidharma painted from profile in the oeuvre of the famous Zen master Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) (plate 176).

The frontal view in the half-body representations is rare, too. Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645) the famous Japanese swordsman painted Bodhidharma this way (plate 177) and the Ōbaku artists favoured this composition. Yiran (Jp. Itsunen) (1592-1688) whose paintings were inscribed by

various meditation masters, often painted Bodhidharma in a frontal composition. Among the examples shown here, one has an inscription by Jifei (Jp. Sokuhi, 1616-1671) (plate 178); another similar composition has a colophon written by Yinyuan (Jp. Ingen, 1592-1673) (plate 179).
Most of the paintings of this composition are made with ink or colours in silk or paper, though new Western-influenced techniques also appeared in East Asia, particularly in Japan. The artists using European techniques and motifs are called *Nanban* (lit. "Southern barbarian", as Europeans went to Japan through the port of Nagasaki, in South Japan).[324] In the example of a Bodhidharma painting by an anonymous Japanese Jesuit from the beginning of the seventeenth century is painted in the manner of European paintings with the chiaroscuro technique indicating the shades on the figure's face but still following the traditional composition, showing the patriarch in a red robe with hidden hands lifted up slightly in front of him. Bodhidharma does not have a beard on this composition (plate 180).[325]

The Japanese painter and printmaker Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818) who was trained previously as an *ukiyoe* artist, began painting in a Western manner about 1780.[326] He used the media of oils, wax and egg white to bind the pigments to the paper. Because he mixed chalk into the paint, Kōkan and other eighteenth-century Japanese artists never achieved the subtle effects allowed by the transparency of true oil paints.[327] In 1788 Kōkan visited Nagasaki, the only open port in Japan, where he met Dutch traders and improved his techniques. For many of his Western-style paintings, Kōkan adapted European compositions, but on his Bodhidharma painting what he painted with wax oil on paper he followed East Asian models (plate 181).

1. Half-body Bodhidharma in Hood

One of the oldest half-body Bodhidharma compositions showing him wearing a hood is from a set of woodblock illustrations representing the Six Chan patriarchs from the Rikkyoku-an temple, Kyōto, Japan (plate 182). This set was made after a twelfth century Chinese stele copied by Hakuun Egyō (1223-1297), the fourth abbot of Tōfuku-ji, who went to China between 1266 and 1279.[328]

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[324] The term *Nanban* is applied both to works of art imported from abroad and, more importantly, to works created in Japan through contact with foreigners, mostly during the Muromachi (1333–1568) and Momoyama (1568–1600) periods and the early part of the Edo period (1600–1868). *Nanban* art (*Nanban bijutsu*), which includes both painting and craft, represents the first fusion in Japan between Western and Eastern art forms. More about Nanban art see: *The Nanban Art of Japan. Paintings and Screens.* The National Museum of Art, Osaka 1986, exhibition catalogue.

[325] The round face and the lack of beard are the features common on presenting Bodhidharma in Chinese white porcelains, usually called Blanc-de-Chine (Dehua) from around the same time (originally this type appeared as early as the twelfth century in China but became blurred in popularity by the bearded version of Bodhidharma).

[326] He was the first Japanese artist to create European-style copperplate etchings (see more about Shiba Kōkan in: French 1974).

[327] Because of their muddy results these works are called with the sobriquet *doroe* ('mud pictures').

[328] Brinker 1973:101-102; Suzuki Kei 1983: Vol. IV. JT 182-001,1/6.

Bodhidharma is shown here with a bulky face, big nose and lips, double chins and a scant beard delineated with thin parallel lines. He holds his hands covered with his robe in front of his chest. This representation was taken as a model by Kichizan Minchō (1351-1431) (plate 183) as well as other artists in the sixteenth century (plate 184) and by Kanō school artists in the seventeenth century (hanging scrolls of Zen patriarchs in the Manpuku-ji, near Kyōto, plate 185). [329]

Models, followers

Now, I show a few examples for how certain models were used and followed within the theme of the hooded half body Bodhidharma.
Two of these are from fourteenth-century Japan, claiming to follow a twelfth-century Chinese prototype of Bodhidharma in their inscriptions.[330] The first one is from the collection of Tenryū-ji (plate 186), the other is from the Yabumoto Sōgorō collection, also from Japan (plate 187). In both compositions Bodhidharma is shown from above his waist, clasping his hands under his robe, revealing a hairy chest. He has big glaring eyes, hooked nose and a dense black beard, his mouth is shown opened slightly, and he wears earrings.

The next example is a Yuan Chinese model painted by Xuejian (Jp.Sekkan), and its inscription is written by Pingshi Ruzhi (Jp. Hinshi Nyoshi, died 1357) (plate 188). This painting is recalled by a similar painting attributed to Sesshū Tōyō (1420-ca.1506) now in the collection of the Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tokyo (plate 189). The latter work is almost an exact copy of the figure in the Yuan painting, except it shows the figure mirrored, facing to the right, and not to the left as in the Chinese original. Bodhidharma wears a red robe, and has a short round dark beard, big eyes and lips, and dark skin. He is shown lifting his hands in front of his chest which is covered by his robe.

Another Bodhidharma bust by Sesshū is a more spontaneous monochrome ink painting, but despite the different medium it follows a similar conception of the iconography (plate 190). However, we need to draw attention to some different points: first of all the folds of the robe are not so embellished as on the coloured painting and Bodhidharma's mouth is indicated with a down-turned line rather than showing fleshy red lips. This down-turned mouth became more popular on Bodhidharma representations, emphasizing the patriarch's determination and moroseness, and became a visual metaphor, specific to paintings of him.
Kanō Motonobu (1476-1559), the famous second generation Kanō school artist, showed Bodhidharma in a very similar composition (plate 191). A bit later the Japanese monk painter Goshō painted a very similar hooded Bodhidharma bust which bears an inscription by the Korean monk Sa'myeongdang Yujeong (1554-1610) (plate 192). This type of composition appears again on the most famous Korean Bodhidharma painting in the Korean National Museum, Seoul, made by Kim Myeongguk (1600-1662) (plate 193). This painting is very popular, reproduced on textiles and other souvenirs all over Korea (e.g. plate 194).

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[329] About the influence of this painting to Minchō, see *Bukkyō Geijutsu* No.166. May 1986:67-70.

[330] They refer to the painter (Jp. Setsuan Tokkō, 1121-1203) who dated the original painting to 1189 (Tokyo 1988: no.9).

2. Half Body Bodhidharma Without Hood

One of the earliest half body Bodhidharma portraits, which shows him without a hood, is a monochrome ink painting in the collection of Myōshin-ji, Kyōto; bearing an inscription of the Chinese priest Mieweng Wenli (1167-1250) (plate 195).[331]

"He murmured only: 'I don't know.'
How could he understand Chinese, when he spoke only in a barbarian tongue?
If Old Xiao [Emperor Wu] had had more blood under his skin,
He would have pursued [Bodhidharma] beyond the flowing sands [of the Central Asian deserts]
in search of the Dharma. The firewood gatherer of [Mt.] Tianmu."[332]

The painting was executed some time before 1250, is done on paper with a few powerful strokes of the 'abbreviating brush', *jianbi*, and contrasting velvety washes. In Japan after this painting came from China in the Middle Ages it was used as a triptych.[333] The robe of the Myōshin-ji Bodhidharma is painted with rough brush, applying quick strokes, leaving blank portions of the paper between the ink traces, so-called 'flying white', *feibai*, (Jp. *hihaku*).[334] The face, in contrast, was painted with a soft brush. A similar technique can be seen in an approximately contemporary half-figure portrait of Bodhidharma with an inscription by Wuzhun Shifan (1177-1249) at the Hatakeyama Kinenkan in Tōkyō (plate 1).[335]
Similar half body and bald-headed Bodhidharma compositions can be found from Yuan Dynasty China, now in the Freer Art Gallery, in Washington D.C. (plate 196)[336] and a similar version in the British Museum, London which is dated to the late sixteenth century (plate 197).[337] From

331 He was a disciple of Songyuan Chongyue (1132-1202) and became the thirty-seventh abbot of the great Chan monastery on Tiantongshan, and the thirty-fifth abbot of Jingci-si near Hangzhou. Mieweng Wenli is considered to be an extremely intellectual representative of the Chan clergy, familiar with both classic literature such as the famous "Book of Changes", Yijing, and Neo-Confucianism. The learned Zhu Xi (1130-1200), the actual founder of Neo-Confucianism, is said to have listened to a lecture of the young Wenli about fundamental questions of Buddhist thought (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:210).

332 The inscription should be read from left to right. The text refers to two episodes from the life and the mysterious "afterlife" of Bodhidharma: his unsuccessful encounter with the Emperor Wu of Liang, and his miraculous return of the Indian master of meditation across the Central Asian desert after his death. This inscription is amongst the few known writings by the brush of Mieweng Wenli. The other extant writings are a Buddhist hymn in a Japanese private collection and a poem at the Masaki Bijutsukan, Tadaoka (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:210).

333 Two paper strips were added on top and at the bottom of the painting, in order to make it equal to the size of the two flanking scrolls. They show Budai and Fenggan painted by Li Que, the only works known by that artist. The Budai scroll is signed in the lower left corner (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996: 210; Fontein-Hickman 1970: no.7. pp. 19-24).

334 Helmut Brinker (1996:210) suggests that the painter used a "rice straw brush", which is called *warafude* in Japanese.

335 A significant feature of the latter painting is that Bodhidharma's clasped hands are visible (Brinker 1973: 68-69; fig.14 and 15).

336 Freer 1973:108-109, no.23

337 JA JP 362 (1913.5-1.0101); Smith, L., Harris, V., Clark, T. (eds), *Japanese Art: Masterpieces in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press 1990: 48, no.39.; Cf. Hirayama I. And Kobayashi T.

around the same time Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539-1610) painted almost the similar composition (plate 198), with the only main difference that he emphasized Bodhidharma's prominent two front teeth, therefore he presented the patriarch with more fleshy lips, and not the down-turned line that was common on the previous paintings.[338] An interesting common feature of these paintings is the visibility of Bodhidharma's finger with which he holds his robe.[339]

Stylistic Evolution of Contemporary Korean Bodhidharma paintings

Owing to the projection of Western aesthetics into East Asian images, a claim for originality is often made when describing the spontaneous ink paintings in modern scholarship. However, the following of previous patterns and earlier masters' styles is a still prevailing characteristic of East Asian societies and aesthetics.[340] While the application of the quick brushstrokes makes it inevitable to convey the personal characteristics of the painter, in general, the iconography cannot be altered to the degree where the topic becomes "illegible". Even in the case of contemporary monk painters in Korea, where we can encounter extremely abbreviated and abstract images of Bodhidharma, we can trace back their iconographical origins and inspirational sources. In this aspect I intend to delineate the iconographical evolution and sources of some famous Korean Bodhidharma-paintings, thus attempt to introduce them in context rather than as stylistically isolated pieces.[341]

In 1993 a comprehensive guide was published in Korea for painters of Bodhidharma, explaining how to paint the first patriarch.[342] The explanations and illustrations in the first chapters are very similar to the Renaissance and nineteenth century European physiognomic writings, one of the illustrations showing a human figure from profile is almost the same as on Leonardo's sketches.[343] After presenting the different ways of painting Bodhidharma's eyes, nose, ears, mouth, the book provides a wide variety of the iconography, ready to be used as a pattern-book.[344]

The 'Geumgangsan genius' Seok Jeong (b.1927) (plate 200) and the 'Mad Monk' Jung Kwang (1935-2002) (plate 199) show Bodhiharma with one eye, not indicating his nose whatsoever.

(eds), *Hizō Nihon Bijutsu taikan*, vol.3. Tōkyō, Kodansha, 1993:5. (Commentary by Kawai Masatomo)

338 *Zen no Bijutsu* 1983: no.67

339 The finger with long nail in the same position (e.g) holding the sleeves of the robe together, can be found not only in Chan/Zen representations, but on Daoist images as well (Little 2000).

340 Nishiyama 1992

341 The availability of many reproductions also influences the styles of the painters, as in the past the circulation of certain images had an impact on representational modes of later artists. Having had the chance to visit Korean monasteries, and to see painter monks painting Bodhidharma images, I could see how much the printed reproductions are used as patterns and inspirational sources for them. I owe many thanks to Donseong sunim, who invited me to his monastery in Masan for some days and allowed me to be involved in the process of his painting Bodhidharma images, and let me use the monastery's library.

342 Hong Ip-Yo, Yi Byoung-kyo, *Dalmado* (Bodhidharma-paintings), Jayu Segye Publ., Seoul, 1993.

343 Hong Ip-Yo, Yi Byoung-kyo 1993: fig.6

344 These paintings, not giving reference of their inspirational sources, but knowing the concerning publications available about Bodhidharma paintings, we can easily guess where the authors get the patterns from.

These seemingly unique compositions are close to a composition of an early seventeenth century Japanese painting which bears the inscription of the Korean monk Yujeong (1554-1610) dated 1602, and now in the Gansong Art Museum, Seoul (plate 201).[345]
In turn this Japanese painting followed an ink painting by the Japanese Zen monk Takuan Sōhō (1573-1645) now in the collection of Daitō-ji, in Hyōgo prefecture (plate 202).[346] The composition placing Bodhidharma in the bottom corner of the paper, and the way he looks backwards are common features in the last two pictures. The face of the Takuan Bodhidharma recalls the famous Muromachi period painter monk, Kenkō Shōkei's (fl. mid. fifteenth - early sixteenth century)[347] half body Bodhidharma from the collection of Nanzen-ji, Kyōto (plate203).[348] His composition, in turn relies on the early Chinese prototypes executed in silk and colours, like the painting by Ma Yuan (ca.1155-after 1225) (plate 204).

The Bodhidharma paintings by the Korean monk painter Gyeong Bong Jeong Seok (1892-1982), who was the head of Tongdo-sa, one of the most important monasteries in Korea, near Busan from 1953 until his death (plate 205), shows similar features to the Bodhidharma paintings of the Hakuin-lineage Zen painters. The bald head, big eyes, and overall expression makes it akin to those painting by Hōjū Zenbyō (1802-1872) (plate 206); Takujū Kosen (1760-1833) (plate 207); Shunsō Shōju (1750-1839) (plate 208); Reigen Etō (1721-1785) (plate 209), and Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) (plates 210, 211).[349]

Finally, the long bearded version of Bodhidharma from Seok Jeong's (b.1927) repertoire (plate 212) recalls the long bearded Bodhidharma figures by the famous Japanese artist Sengai Gibon (1750-1838) (plate 213).[350]

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345 GSMH Vol. 16. 1979:31, pl.33; Choi 1998:41-44, fig. 12

346 *Zen no Bijutsu* 1983: no. 72

347 He was commonly referred as "Kei Shoki". In this name "shoki" stands for the clerical nature of his duties in the temple compound.

348 Fontein-Hickman 1970: 139-141, no.57; Zen no Bijutsu 1986: no. 66

349 Stevens-Yelen 1990:56-57, pl.5. and Addiss 1989: 102-129, pl. 69

350 Fontein-Hempel 1968: fig.31; Suzuki 1985; Awakawa 1970: fig.122

2. Style

a. Elaborated style versus Spontaneous Ink Monochrome

The styles used to depict Bodhidharma were not consistent. When used for a ritual, Bodhidharma paintings were likely to be done in the conservative secular styles of the professional and academy masters, and they are more functional in character, produced by specialist masters to meet some demand. In a different context, they were typically painted in a more spontaneous manner, with loose brushwork. The paintings done in the more sketchy and spontaneous styles in ink monochrome presumably represent the work of monk-amateurs and were created to aid meditation and to lead towards enlightenment.[351] These works can be regarded as equivalents of scholar–amateur painting, embodying the results of Chan spiritual disciplines instead of Confucian self-cultivation.[352] The style was used as a language: for certain purposes the painters could choose which style to use. The great academy master Liang Kai, active in the early thirteenth century, could cross the boundary, working sometimes (probably during the early part of his career, when he was serving in the Imperial Academy) in the highly finished academic manner and at other times (presumably after he had left the academy) in the broader, looser 'Chan' manner. Monk-amateurs also occasionally worked in skilled, even academic, styles, though in the Song period (960–1279) the distinction remained generally valid. By the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) it had become blurred, as specialist painters such as Yan Hui (flourished in the late thirteenth -early fourteenth centuries), who was not a Buddhist monk and who painted also for Daoist temples and secular clients, produced many pictures of Bodhidharma, the White-robed Guanyin, and Budai (associated with Maitreya) and other Chan subjects, often in styles formerly practised by monk-amateurs.

b. Development of Chan Painting

The development of Chan painting is in fact closely tied to the emergence of the literati or scholar–amateur movement in painting (*wenren hua*). Paintings by literati and Chan artists tend to have certain characteristics in common: the use of ink monochrome instead of colours; broad, rough or otherwise unorthodox brush manners; simple, abbreviated compositions; a preference for mild, 'poetic' subjects. In other ways they differ: figure painting, for instance, makes up a significant part of Chan painting but is relatively rare in literati painting.[353]

One of the Su Shi (1036-1101) literati circle, however, Li Gonglin (1047-1106), was a specialist in painting figures and seems to have been a source for later Chan artists in both

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351 Addiss 1989: 6

352 Cahill 1996: 782-785

353 ibid.

subjects and style;[354] he is said to have been the first to depict White-robed Guanyin, subsequently a common Chan theme. And he was among the first painters of Bodhidharma as I show in my thesis.

The monk–painter Fanlong (act. mid-twelfth century)[355] was a follower of Li Gonglin, but as it is shown on the handscroll by him representing arhats (Washington, DC, Freer Gallery) he replaced Li's fine plain-line drawing (*baimiao*) with broader, paler and slightly fluctuating lines. In these stylistic features and in his use of more specifically Chan subjects, Fanlong was an important link between Li Gonglin and the Chan masters of the later twelfth and thirteenth century, when Chan painting was at its height.[356]

Also developing during the twelfth century, the early Southern Song period (1127–1279), was the 'poetic' mode of painting: suggestive rather than fully descriptive, often done in pale ink tones and favouring as subjects river scenes, misty landscapes and night scenes.The evolution of Chan painting in the Southern Song period is inseparable from this subtle, poetic mode of painting, as it is from literati painting. In the late twelfth century a Chan monk–artist known as Laoniu ('Old ox') Zhiyong (1114–1193) painted figures and oxen in brushwork so lax and ink tone so pale that the pictures were nearly invisible and were disparagingly termed by critics *wangliang hua* (jp. *mōryōga*) ('apparition paintings').[357] This apparition-style can be seen for example in the painting showing Bodhidharma's crossing by Jitang Li Yaofu (Jp. Kidō Rigyōfu) (plate 127).

As Cahill stated, the suitability of these styles to Chan uses depends on formal correspondences or analogies between them and certain characteristics of Chan doctrine and practice. Ink monochrome, first of all, is obviously better suited than colourful styles to a school that stresses simplicity and austerity. The abbreviated manner and a way of concentrating darker elements and detail at the centre of the picture give an immediate impact to the compositions; this is also suited to Chan, which often delivers its messages in sudden and non-discursive ways, with an enigmatic exclamation, a shout, a blow with a stick. The images sometimes have the same quality of estrangement as Chan poems, jolting the viewer out of comfortable habits of apprehending his world. Like Chan itself, the pictures of those kind do not 'shout out' their messages by offering the observer a quantity of detailed information; instead, they require that the viewer constitute an image, with the help of visual clues provided by the artist. These styles, moreover, were technically within the grasp of the amateur artist and allowed enough personal variation and nuance to reflect (like the scholar–amateur styles) the artist's mind.[358]

By the end of the Yuan, Chan painting appears to have been in decline, and it barely continues into the early part of the Ming period (1368–1644). It seems to have had little

354 Barnhart 1993

355 Cahill 1977: 94

356 Cahill 1996: 782-785

357 A single example of Zhiyong's work survives, a small picture entitled *Ox and Herdboy* (Amagasaki, priv. col.; see 1982 exh. cat., no. 29). Cahill 1996: 782-785

358 Cahill 1996: 782-785

effect on later painting in China, although artists as diverse as Shen Zhou, Tang Yin, Xu Wei, Badashanren[359] and Daoji all drew on it in some of their works and Ming period printed books were used in Korea and Japan. The neglect of Chan painting in China can be blamed on those critics of the Yuan period and later who belittled it. Xia Wenyan's treatment of Muqi's style in his *Tuhui baojian* ('Precious mirror for examining painting'; preface dated 1365) is typical: 'His way of painting was coarse and ugly, not in accordance with the ancient rules and not worthy of refined appreciation.'[360] This is in stark contrast to the reception that Zen painting received in Japan, where for centuries it has been considered the highest achievement of Chinese painting.

[359] Barnhart & Wang 1990

[360] Cahill 1996: 782-785

IV. THE LEGACY OF BODHIDHARMA
Buddhist and non-Buddhist Elements in the Legend and Representations

The nature of legendary stories are very intricate, rooted in different traditions. If we read surviving written records which mention Bodhidharma, we can find that besides the Buddhist tradition there were other inspirational sources and later interpretations for his legend. We can differentiate two other different sources in the legend apart from Buddhism which Chan claimed to originate and name itself. These two sources are the Daoist and the Confucianist traditions. However, we can see that these other traditions were not too far from the thought of Chan, as it was born in China where in the name of meditation-Buddhism a lot of indigenous beliefs were syncretized. Later on, following the first contacts with the Western missionaries, Bodhidharma also came to be interpreted as a Christian apostle.

1. Buddhism: Bodhidharma as an Arhat

I have shown when discussing Bodhidharma images that they were created using the prevalent iconography of the Buddhist arhats (Ch. luohan, Kor. nahan, Jp. rakan), and they also can be found amongst the arhats. These group of figures were originally the disciples of Śākyamuni Buddha, they heard him teaching personally (therefore they are called in Sanskrit *śrāvaka*, 'who heard the teachings'). They were the symbols of Buddhism of the Theravāda tradition when arhats were the ideals for attaining enlightenment focusing on personal salvation. This ideal was criticised by the Mahayāna schools of Buddhism. They called themselves 'Greater Vehicle' with their altruistic ideal of the Bodhisattva postponing their personal Nirvana until they have saved all sentient beings. With their name they degraded the self-salvation-centred traditions labelling them as selfish and too narrow, the 'Lesser Vehicle'. But with the mahayanization of Buddhism we can find some compromise with accommodating these arhats in the popular pantheon of Chinese Buddhist imageries. Their popularity is shown by the numerous sets of arhat-paintings preserved in Japan which indicate the importance of the cult of Arhats in early Song and Yuan Chinese Buddhist practice.[361] One of the earliest sources on the arhats is a text probably originated in the third century C.E. in Sri Lanka.[362] This text clearly indicates its Mahayānist nature not only with the sūtras mentioned therein, such as the Lotus sutra regarded as the most important amongst them, but in the text the arhats are described as the protectors of the Buddhist Law until the coming of the Future Buddha, Maitreya. So not derogating them as only waiting their own personal nirvāna, but giving them an active role as protectors of the teachings. This text was translated into Chinese by Xuanzang in 654 C.E. with the title "Record of the Duration of the Law, spoken by the Great Arhat Nandimitra" (Ch. *Da-a luohan Nandimituo luo suo shuo fa zhu ji*), commonly referred to as the *Fa zhu ji*.[363] The text gives the names, their routes and residence

[361] Whitfield 1971: 96

[362] Lèvi-Chavannes 1916

[363] T.49.2030:12-14. The text is translated into French by Chavannes 1916

of the sixteen arhats.[364] From the tenth century onwards, the number of the arhats expanded to eighteen and five hundred.[365] Arhats intrigued highly the imagination of the Chinese, especially their mystic qualities which was expressed in the Chinese translation of the *Fa Zhu Ji*.[366] Therefore, no wonder that partly because of their mystic qualities they were associated with the native sagely beings, the immortals (Ch. *Xianren*) who had a rich tradition from as early as the Warring States Period (ca. fourth century BCE) and had a significant place in the Daoist literature.[367]

The cult of arhats have started about from the fifth century CE,[368] but became popular especially in the Five Dynasties period (907-960).[369]

The earliest arhat images remained us from Hōryū-ji, Nara.[370] Among the earliest representations, there is a Tibetan painting from Dunhuang, dated to the early or middle ninth century, now in the British Museum (Stein Collection OA 1919.1-1.0169) (plate 214). It shows the arhat Kālika naming him in its inscription.[371] In this depiction Kālika is shown as a monk, more Chinese than Indian in his appearance. This type of figure, a bald, beardless person is usually appears as the young disciple of Śākyamuni, Ananda. We can find its influence among the earliest Bodhidharma-representations, especially in the Daigō-ji scroll Bodhidharma (plate 25).

The source for the other type of arhats, an old, foreign-looking person we can find in the representations of Śākyamuni's old disciple, Mahākāśyapa (sculpted in low relief from the Lianhua cave, Longmen, ca. 521) (plate 215).[372] This iconography was followed in the seventh -

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364 The first and the eleventh Piṇdola and Rāhula, with Mahākaśyapa and Kundopadhāniya are the great four śrāvakas of the Thrēravāda tradition. But Mahākaśyapa their leader doesn't appear in the list of the sixteen arhats, because he has already withdrawn from the world to wait for the coming of Maitreya (Whitfield 1971: 97). Instead of him there is Pindola as the leader of the sixteen. He is the most individualized amongst the arhats. He is famous for his supernatural powers and about his gluttony. He was condemned to remain in this world after the Nirvāna of the historical Buddha and the other disciples because he used his powers to satisfy his greediness. In spite (or because) of his greed for eating , he represents the ideal of the monk, and his ritual role is revealed in his function as keeper of the kitchens and bathrooms (Faure1996: 89).

365 Kent 1995: 18

366 In this text there is a reference for the arhats' endowment with the Three Vidyās (Ch. *san ming,* three kinds of insight, e.g. insight into the mortal conditions of one's own self and that of others in previous lives, into future mortal conditions, and into the present mortal sufferings so as to overcome all passions and temptations), and the six Abhijnās (Ch. *liutong*, transcendent knowledge of power). (Soothill, W. E. & Hodous, L. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pāli Index*. Taibei: Chengwen, 1937 (repr.1976: 66, 124,138) Cf. Kent 1995: 15-16).

367 In Zhuangzi the portrayal of these immortals were ascetics usually living in the mountains who attained cosmic power (Kent 1995:18).

368 By the fifth century CE, we have evidence that in China, the cult of the arhat Pindola was already existent. (An existence of a year 457 translation of the *'Ching binlutou fa'* ('Method of Inviting Pindola') into Chinese. T. 1689, 32, 784b-c. (Kent 1995:16, note 11). However, widespread worship of arhats did occur after the ninth -tenth century Buddhist persecution (841-845) (Wen C. Fong: 1956: 216, 219).

369 Visser 1923:103

370 Dr. Shirahara Yukiko's lecture at SOAS in 2002.

371 Whitfield-Farrer 1990: 75-76, pl. 54

372 Kent 1995:40. fig.11-12, 13. The figure's face is in the Guimet Museum, Paris from 1936. Cf. *Ryūmon sekkutsu* (The Longmen Grottoes) 1988.Vol.1:273-274

eighth centuries at Longmen in the 'Temple of Sūtra-Reading' (Ch. *Kanjing si*) constructed during the reign of Empress Wu (684-704), the great patron of Chan Buddhism.[373] On three walls of the temple twenty-nine patriarchal figures are carved in low relief. In many publications they are referred as arhats,[374] but though their iconography is rooted in arhat representations, their intention was to represent the patriarchs, which can be the case in the Bodhidharma-representations as well.[375]

The arhat-iconography established by the famous Chan priest painter Guanxiu (832-912) reportedly inspired by a dream[376] is in fact rooted in the representations of the sixth century Mahākāśyapa relief from Longmen (plates 32).[377] To summarize how arhat-iconography influenced the representations of Bodhidharma, we can conclude the following:

Buddha's disciple Mahākāśyapa as an old Indian monk with exaggerated features appears in visual representation in low relief from the Lianhua cave, Longmen, ca. 521 influenced Guanxiu's (832-912) arhat paintings and the depiction of the eighth arhat in the album leaf following Lu Lengjia's (act. 730-758) composition. This painting had a strong influence on Song period arhat-representations (like Liu Songnian, twelfth-thirteenth century) and through them to the earliest Bodhidharma-representations: the Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma (plate 13) and the Kanchi-in Bodhidharma (plate 24).

The influence of the depiction of Arhat Kālika (early, mid. ninth century from Dunhuang), as a beardless, Chinese like monk can be traced especially on the Daigō-ji scroll figures (1150).

The seventeenth arhat on the Lu Lengjia scroll; the album leaf by Li Gonglin (1041-1106) representing an 'arhat crossing the water standing on a reed' a hairy, stocky, bearded figure and a bearded Indian-looking arhat crossing the water on a reed in the Daitoku-ji set of five hundred arhats from the twelfth century show similar features of the Bodhidharma image showing him crossing the river on a reed. Therefore, I find it more than convincing that the image of Bodhidharma is a derivation of arhat images.

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373 On the patronage see Stanley Weinstein: "Imperial Patronage in T'ang Buddhism", *Perspectives on the T'ang*, ed. Arthur Wright and Denis C. Twitchett. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973: 304-305

374 *Ryūmon sekkutsu* 1988 quoted by Kent 1995:31. note 32

375 The most important difference between arhats and patriarchs is that the arhats were important in regard to their spiritual qualities while the importance of patrirachs laid in the succession, and lineage, their position, and not their qualities first of all.

376 About the dream-inspired arhat figures of Guanxiu, see *Song Gaoseng Zhuan* (T.2061, 897a-b). According this source Guanxiu said: "Whenever I depict a Honoured One [arhat], I always pray that I will receive a vision of his true image in a dream. [Only] thus might I succeed [in painting such a being]" (Kent 1995:42. note 53). This can be the source for Huang Xiufu's 'Record of Famous Paintings of Yizhou' (Ch.*Yizhou minghua lu*), preface dated 1007, when he quotes Guanxiu saying: "When someone asked him [about his painting of arhats], he replied, '[I paint] what I have seen in my own dreams" (Kent 1995:42. note 53). More about Guanxiu, see Kobayashi Taichirō, *Zengetsu daishi no shōgai to geijutsu*. Tokyo 1947; Ōmura Seigai, "Rakan zuzō ko", *Zengetsu daishi jūroku rakan*. Tokyo 1909. For the summary of these works, see De Visser 1923: 105-120. Barnhart's biography of Guanxiu, in: Franke 1976: 55-61.

377 Guanxiu's archaism was different from the late eleventh -twelfth century classicisation (a feature of Li Gonglin and his circle). Guanxiu's archaism was more primitive and served self-expression rather than idealism (Fong: "Archaism as a Primitive Style", in Christian Murck, ed., *Artists and Traditions: Uses of the Past in Chinese Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1976:89-109).

2. Confucianism: Bodhidharma as a Patriarch

The other source apart from Buddhism is the Confucian tradition, namely, ancestor-worship and the rituals around it. Therefore the importance of maintaining and emphasising the 'lineage' from Śākyamuni Buddha to Bodhidharma through patriarchs, so to say from patriarch to patriarch (it is no wonder that Chan emphasises the very strong connection between master and disciple and the 'special transmission from mind to mind'). It was not only a very clever method to maintain the legitimate position for Chan Buddhism, but it was rooted deeply in Chinese tradition. In the case of monks and religious leaders who didn't usually have their own offspring, the legitimisation of a certain successor was inevitable in ancient East Asian societies (like the '*ie*-system' in Japan which had its precedents in the continent as well). We also know about several cases when in the lack of any real relationship between an important master and a person who claimed to continue the tradition of that master or just wished to gain legitimisation through a famous name, the doctrine of reincarnation was often turned to with claims to embody that famous master and continue his 'way'. This custom really came into general use, especially amongst artist-monks.[378] No wonder that the earliest surviving images of Bodhidharma were the ones showing the act of legitimization of the Chan school's teaching and the patriarchate. Here we can see Bodhidharma and his successor, Huike, being recognized as the most suitable for succession. In other cases Bodhidharma is depicted as he gives Huike the insignia of the patriarchate: the robe and the alms bowl. Both examples were due to emphasis given to the continuity of the patriarchate and the legitimacy of Chan Buddhism. At the beginning of the establishment of this new school it was particularly inevitable to put stress on this event.

The other element which closely ties Bodhidharma images to the Confucian tradition is the depiction of the patriarch in full body (Ch. *dingxiang*, Jp. *chinsō*) or in half-body and the use of these images in patriarch halls, where a special ceremony, similar to the Confucian ancestor rituals, took place.[379] The majority of literature on Chan art is concerned with the spontaneous ink paintings and doesn't deal deeply with the origins of the more detailed representations used in rituals. A breakthrough in this aspect is the article by T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf in the Cahiers d' Extrême-Asie about the ritual use of Chan portraiture revealing the earlier phases of Chan imagery in China providing some interesting information about the social context of Chan-images.[380]

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[378] See the legendary story of Shōtoku Taishi and the beggar as the reincarnation of Nanyue Huisi and Bodhidharma (see Kōjō: Isshin Kaimon, T. 74.2379, 653b); also Prof. Helmut Brinker, lecture at SOAS, 2000. And see the life story of the contemporary Korean monk, Seok-jeong (Choi Wan-su 1996).

[379] Foulk-Sharf 1993-1994:156-219

[380] Foulk-Sharf ibid.

3. Daoism: Bodhidharma as a Daoist Immortal

Another source for the Bodhidharma legend is the Daoist tradition[381] which regarded eccentric and strange figures as its main characters.[382] The immortals, around whom a lot of miracles were grouped, are amongst the most popular of these characters.[383] Their name in Chinese is *xian* which in its Chinese character contains a character of man and the mountain, so it suggests 'a man in the mountain' and usually the immortals are spoken of and depicted as inhabitants of the mountains. I do not find it an accident therefore, that texts about Bodhidharma do not mention any cave or mountain per se, where he spent his wall-meditation,[384] but in visual sources, from the thirteenth century onwards, we often see him in a cave. This phenomenon could be an amalgamation with some hermits or immortals in the Daoist tradition.

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[381] Daoism must be mentioned as a spiritual source of Chan and its art. Indian Buddhist thought, from which Chan borrowed the idea of the omnipresence of the Buddha Nature, was very close to the Chinese concept of the transcendent principle, the idea of the Dao residing in all things and manifesting itself everywhere in nature. "Both schools emphasized the original act of insight into the nature of being, mistrusted any intellectualisation of their teachings, and valued the transmission of the 'doctrine without words', an expression coined by Daoists and destined to become an integral part of Chan Buddhist thought. We can clearly see this similarity in the famous saying of a Zen master presented to us by Suzuki:
'Before a man studies Zen, to him mountains are mountains and waters are waters; after he gets an insight into the truth of Zen through the instruction of a good master, mountains to him are not mountains and waters are not waters; but after this when he really attains to the abode of rest, mountains are once more mountains and waters are waters'. (Daisetz T. Suzuki: *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series), London, 1949: 24).
Zen shows the strong influence of Daoism, according to which the Dao, the 'Way of Nature', is revealed everywhere in the existing reality, and all opposites are eliminated by mutual penetration, including those between fullness and emptiness, between variety and unity, between 'One and All'"(Brinker-Kanazawa 1996: 17-18).

[382] It is interesting to note that a text called *Laojun bashiyi huatu* (Illustrations on the Eighty-one Transformations of Lord Lao), that figured prominently in the debates between Buddhists and Daoists at the Mongol court, was among those proscribed in 1258, for it perpetuated the claim that the Buddha was Laozi's incarnation. Thereafter it appeared to have been lost beyond recovery, with the exception of a few incriminating passages cited in Buddhist polemical works (Boltz 1987:67-68). But as Chavannes notes, wall paintings illustrating the *Laojun bashiyi huatu* are known to be popular in temples of the thirteenth century (Chavannes, Edouard, "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole." *T'oung Pao*, 1904, 5: 357-447; see also Waley, Arthur, transl. 1931 *Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz khan.*, London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1931:17). Such paintings could evidently also been found in the 18th century judging from the account on the *Yuantong Guan* in the *Taiyuan Fuzhi*, compiled in 1783 by *Tan Shangzhong* (Boltz 1987: n.170).
The nine-year meditation practice recalls Ma Yu (1123-1183) of Ninghai (Shandong) who lectured on the importance of pursuing a disciplined program of meditative practice. By this Ma means that one must cultivate a state of purification every minute of each day. In so doing, he advises, one may anticipate the experience of enlightenment a myriad times over. The key, according to Ma, is to concentrate one's mind fully on the Tao for the entire day, without any thought of satisfying hunger or thirst. He concludes his message with a litany of allegorical terms from *neidan*. After **nine years** of persistent practice, Ma concludes, one can expect to have achieved eternal transubstantiation as a divine spirit (Boltz 1987:149-155).

[383] Little 2000: 313-335

[384] The sources refer to the wall of the Shaolin monastery when they describe the wall-meditation (*Chuanfa zhenzong ji*), or they just mention the wall meditation in general without signifying the place where it took place (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*).

We know from a commentary on Guanxiu (832-912), the famous Chan priest painter that he profoundly mixed and combined Daoist and Buddhist beliefs.[385]

The practice of regarding Bodhidharma as a Daoist Immortal and grouping some typical miraculous stories around him can be traced back to as early as the eighth century.[386] The earliest story was about the envoy Song Yun's meeting with Bodhidharma in the Pamir mountains after Bodhidharma's death, where the patriarch was going back towards the West with one sandal in his hand. After Song Yun told the story to the emperor, and Bodhidharma's tomb was opened, Bodhidharma's body wasn't found in the tomb any more, but only the pair of the sandal he held in his hand in the mountain. The earliest depiction of Bodhidharma with a shoe in his hand dated to the thirteenth century, where the depicted person is more Chinese than Indian or Western, but wears an earring in his ear. This tradition of depicting Bodhidharma as a round faced, shaved, beardless person is continued in the sixteenth century Dehua porcelains.[387]

Another story turns Bodhidharma's crossing of the Yangzi river to the North into a miracle story, as it says that he used a reed to cross the wild water.

It was a deliberate confusion with the Daoist Immortals who crossed the sea - often on a reed - as Bodhidharma also came to be depicted. We know about paintings from the Song period showing arhats crossing the water on different utensils like walking sticks or flying carpets. In some cases there is a Western or Indian looking figure standing on a reed suggesting that he could have broken his 'vehicle' from the reedy area depicted in the right bottom corner of the painting. These kinds of paintings are clear evidence that the representation of arhats, immortals and Bodhidharma had much in common. To make my argument more convincing, let me mention some Bodhidharma-paintings where in the inscription we often read 'crossing the sea', instead of 'crossing the river' (plate 6, 235).[388]

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385 Edward H. Schafer: "Mineral Imagery in the Paradise Poems of Kuan-hsiu" *Asia Major* 10, (1963): 73-102.

386 See Appendix and the table of the legend

387 Donnelly 1969: 161, plates 87, 97

388 Some authors, mostly those dealing with Japan (for example McFarland) consider this phrase as referring Bodhidharma's life in Japan. But in the course of my research I have not seen any direct references of Bodhidharma's crossing the sea between China and Japan, but the story tells about the reincarnation of the Indian ascetic in a form of a strange beggar, with whom Prince Shōtoku Taishi had an encounter (see Kōjō: *Denjutsu Isshin Kaimon*, T. 74. 2379,653b and Kōkan Shiren: *Genkō Shakusho*. The basis for the story about the hungry wanderer and the prince see the *Nihon Shoki*).

4. Tendencies for combination: The Unification of the Three Doctrines

The fusion of Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian thought and expression found its best definition in the theory of the 'Three Creeds and One Source', *sanjiao yizhi* (Jp. *sankyō itchi*), which had a long and vigorous history in China.[389] The theme of the Unity of the Three Creeds is particularly important because "it expresses the principle of the fundamental unity of man, nature, and society and of political-ethical, religious, and artistic concerns. It is a principle that dissolves the boundaries between the sacred and the profane, the self and the non-self, the animate and the inanimate, the beautiful and the ugly, between social classes and between nations."[390]

Under Imperial patronage, symposia and public debates were held, during which leading representatives discussed the relation between the three doctrines advocated by them, citing their advantages and disadvantages.[391] The famous Tang poet Bai Juyi (772-846) reported on such a debate which took place in the tenth month of the year 827 in compliance with a command by the court. During the Song and Yuan Dynasties the compatibility of the three doctrines was no longer a matter of serious dispute but was firmly established in religious as well as in intellectual circles.[392]

Painters of the ninth and tenth centuries, such as Sun Wei and Shi Ke, began to unite the protagonists of the three doctrines, i.e., the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, Laozi, and Confucius, in a group composition, and this composition was received by the tolerant atmosphere of Chan, especially during the fifteenth century in Japan.

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389 In Li Shiqian's biography recorded by Li Yanshou (active seventh century) in his "History of the Northern Dynasties", it is said:
"A guest once asked Shiqian about the relative merits of the three doctrines. He replied: 'Buddhism is the sun, Daoism is the moon, and Confucianism, the five planets.' The guest could not find fault with this and so left off questioning him. Translation by Brinker with only minor changes after Susan Bush and Victor H. Mair: "Some Buddhist Portraits and Images of the Lü and Ch'an sects in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century China", *Archives of Asian Art*, XXXI (1977-1978), p.37, (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, p. 18, n.18).

390 The principle of the transcendental oneness or identity of all things has ancient roots in the metaphysics of both Mahāyāna Buddhism and Daoism (Rosenfield 1977: 205-225).

391 "Between the three creeds in China there had been centuries of competition. The Confucians, for example, had long complained that Buddhism was a foreign creed based on legends that were irrational, extravagant, and unverifiable; that its monasteries took men out of service to society; that it was hostile to orderly government and the system of family state loyalty. Attempts to minimize or reconcile points of difference were made again and again. In the mid-Tang period, especially in Chan Buddhist circles, doctrines of the equivalence of the three creeds became fashionable and thus served as a background for the enthusiasm shown for the idea by the Northern Song literati. But always in the background of this theme was the harsh historical fact that Buddhism had been persecuted repeatedly in China; especially damaging was the suppression of 845 by the Emperor Wuzong, who was inspired in this by Daoists" (Rosenfield 1977: 205-225).

392 Concerning the 'Three Creeds' in China during the Yuan Dynasty cf. Liu Ts'un-yan and Judith Berling: "The 'Three Teachings' in the Mongol-Yüan Period", *Yüan Thought. Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, ed. by Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary. New York, 1982:479-512, (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:18).

A stele of 1209 at Shaolinsi on Mt. Song in Henan Province provides us some information about such Song images (plate 216). This was the monastery where Bodhidharma is said to have sat in meditation for nine years facing a wall. The model for the engraving was done by a Chan painter-monk named Zuzhao from Taiyuan in Shanxi Province who also provided the inscription.[393] Though we don't have much biographical information about Zuzhao we can suppose that he must have been a talented and important master of painting and writing. The inscription of the *sanjiao* configuration was composed by the Tang Emperor Suzong (711-762, reigned 756-762) and is said to have been based on the stone edition of 977 in the Imperial Academy at Chang'an. The majestic central en face image of Śākyamuni slightly elevated on two lotus pedestals under his feet is proportionally taller than the standing figures of Laozi to his left and Confucius to his right.[394] Muqi (ca. 1210-1280) on his ink painting follows the depiction of Laozi (plate 217), and on his Bodhidharma-painting he handled the ears the same way, too (plate 41).
The notion of fusion of the three doctrines and one source is convincingly put forward in the Shaolin Monastery's stele. Contradictions among the three teachings were interpreted as different aspects of one and the same thing, and dismissed as such. "Zen Buddhists are sometimes Confucianists, sometimes Taoists, or sometimes even Shintoists",[395] thus the succinct and startling comment by Suzuki concerning this point.[396] Already six centuries earlier the Chan master *Qingzhuo Zhengcheng* (Jap. *Seisetsu Shōchō*, 1274-1339), who migrated from China to Japan in 1326, made a similar comment.[397]

Apart from depicting the three founders (plate 218) there are other visual representations referring to the unification of the three teachings, namely the 'Three Vinegar Tasters'[398] (Ch. *Sansuan*, Jp.

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393 Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:18-19

394 "The element of parody visible in the forms of these figures is underlined by their depiction in three distinct styles. Thus the Buddha's drapery is indicated by close-set parallel lines flanked by fluttering, curvilinear folds. By contrast, Lao-tzu's [Laozi's] robe has a certain 'primitive simplicity', for it is defined by relatively few, straightforward lines of even width. On the other hand, Confucius' apparel is given a literary air by numerous modulated strokes with hooked or 'nail-headed' ends that create a rather fussy effect. The rubbing thus presumably suggests something of the range of brush manners that would have been found in copybooks of the time, and that no doubt served as a reference for the painter's visual punning"(Bush and Mair: op.cit., pp.38f, (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:19 and n.18).

395 Suzuki: *Zen and Japanese Culture*, pp.44 f., fig.7 (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:19)

396 Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:19

397 He wrote on a painting by Yintuoluo (active first half fourteenth century) showing the founders of the "Three Creeds":

> "The Magistrate of Lu (Confucius)
> The Pillar of Zhou (Laozi),
> And who is the person in front of them?
> The princely son of Suddhodana (Śākyamuni)
> The three are all masters.
> Choose among them a good one, And follow him!
> 1335, early spring. Respectfully written by the śramana of Kennin-ji.
> Qingzhuo Zhengcheng."

The original by Yintuoluo may be lost, but an early Japanese copy seems to be quite faithful, probably reproducing the text of the poem and the writing style of Qingzhuo Zhengcheng fairly reliably; cf. Rosenfield: op.cit. (1977), Fig.6 pp. 222f (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:19).

Sansan) (plate 219) and 'The Three Laughers of the Tiger Ravine' (plate 220).[399] Both themes were favourite motifs of Chan artists, who painted them often and with sensitive humour. No matter if the 'Three Vinegar Tasters' and the 'Three Laughers' are interpreted as Śākyamuni, Confucius and Laozi or as the famous Song literati Su Shi (Dongpo, 1036-1101), Huang Tingjian (1045-1105) and their priestly friend, the Chan monk Foyin from the Jinshan Monastery, or in the case of the 'Three Laughers' Tao Xian (Yuanming), Lu Xiujing and the patriarch Huiyuan they demonstrate in allegorical form the unification of the three teachings.

So, as we have seen, the conscious syncretic tendencies were very much present at the time when the Bodhidharma-iconography developed into a chrystallized form which melted several elements and aspects from the Confucian as well as the Daoist tradition, apart from the Buddhist tradition. In contemporary mediaeval catalogues of paintings we can also find that from the eleventh-twelfth centuries Buddhist and Daoist figure paintings started to be dealt with as one category.[400]

5. Christianity:Bodhidharma as a Christian Apostle

Bodhidharma was not only considered as a Central Asian or Indian monk, but we know that for the Christian missionaries coming to China in the sixteenth century, he was long identified as the apostle Thomas or apostle Bartholomew who were both said to have evangelized in India. This is due to the Chinese pronunciation of Bodhidharma being very similar to the names of the two apostles in both cases, (i.e. Thomas- 'Tamo', Bartholomew-'Tolome'), and to the fact that for the Jesuits who promulgated "mystic contemplation",[401] the Chan teachings appeared to be close to their own philosophy. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) also mentioned the possible connections between Buddhism and Christianity and considered Buddhism as a degenerate form of Christianity.[402] Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), the famous Italian missionary to China, wrote :

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398 This pictorial form demonstrate in allegorical form the essential identity of the three philosophies that the three sages by tasting vinegar from the same pot: to each the drink tastes different, although objectively it is the same liquid.

399 Historically, the 'Three Laughers of the Tiger Ravine' may be the oldest of these three allegorical themes. Already the writings of the famous Chan painter, monk, and poet Guanxiu (832-912) contain this story of the poet Tao Qian (Yuanming), the descendant of a Confucian family and symbol of the individualist hermit; the Daoist magician and philosophical formalist Lu Xiujing; and the important patriarch Huiyuan. When Huiyuan entered the Donglin Monastery on Mt. Lu on the southern bank of the Yangzi river in 384, he vowed never again to leave the holy monastery precinct and thus never to enter the profane world of desire and defilement. One day, however, Tao Qian and Lu Xiujing came to visit him, and when he accompanied his two famous guests back to the threshold of the holy precinct, lost in stimulating conversation, he inadvertently crossed the bridge of the Tiger Ravine which separated the monastery from the outer world. At that moment, they heard a tiger roar, and immediately Huiyuan realized he had unconsciously broken his vow. The three men acknowledged the faux pas with resounding laughter, realizing that not even the most rigid barriers and resolutions can withstand the power of spiritual freedom and purity (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996:21).

400 Ledderose 1973: 69-83; Bush and Shih 1985: 103-109

401 Edkins, Joseph: *Chinese Buddhism: A Volume of Sketches, historical, descriptive and critical,* London: Kegan and Paul, 1890: 86

402 Xavier, St. Francis, *Epistolae S. Franscisci Xaverii aliaque eiis scripta.* Ed. George Schurhammer and Joseph Wicki, 2 vols., Rome: Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus, 1944-1945., in: Faure 1993:46

"It is historically clear that this doctrine (i.e. Buddhism) was brought into China at the identical period in which the Apostles were preaching the doctrine of Christ. Bartholomew was preaching in upper India, namely in Hindustan and the surrounding countries, when Thomas was spreading the Gospel in lower India, to the South. It is not beyond the realm of possibility, therefore, that the Chinese, moved and interested by reports of the truths contained in the Christian Gospel, sought to contact it and to learn it from the West. Instead, however,...the Chinese received a false importation in place of the truth they were seeking."

"This [Buddhist] philosophy seems not only to have borrowed from the West [i.e., from Democritus and Pythagoras] but to have actually caught a glimpse of light from the Christian Gospels....In reciting prayers they frequently repeat a certain name, which they pronounce Tolome [Bodhidharma?] but which they themselves do not understand. Again, it might possible that in doing this they wish to honor their cult with the authority of the Apostle Bartholomew."[403]

In the seventeenth century Gabriel de Magaillans used Saint Thomas for elucidating the similarities between Chinese Buddhism and Christianity:

"These Lamas are ordinarily dressed with red and yellow robes...; somewhat in the way in which the Apostles are represented, and as if they had imitated in this the Apostle St. Thomas, who, to all appearances, came to China and stayed there for some time. For the Histories and Chronicles of China record that, during the reign of the Han family, at the time in which our Lord Jesus-Christ was born, there came from the Indies to this Empire a Holy Man called Tamo, who preached and taught a Holy Law; that the bonzes opposed it and persecuted the Saint in such a way that, seeing that he was making no progress, he returned to the Indies; that he carried a staff in his hand and was bareheaded; and that one day, as he desired to cross that large River called Kiam, or "Son of the Sea", by the Chinese, and no one wanted to ferry him across because they had been prejudiced against him by the Bonzes, he crossed that river dry-shod. One reads about many other miracles and wonderful actions of this Saint. One should not raise objections because the Chinese call him Tamo instead of Thomas: for as we corrupt Chinese names, they too corrupt those of other Nations, so that it is often impossible to recognize them."[404]

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403 Gallagher, Louis, J., S.J., trans. 1953. *China in the 16th Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610.*, (Transl. from Trigault's *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas Suscepta ab Societate Jesu,* 1615) New York: Random House, 1953: 98-99
And see more about the Christian tradition spread in China in the early middle ages: Martin Palmer: *The Jesus Sutras*, Ballantine Publ. London, 2001

404 Magaillans [Magalhaes], Gabriel de: *A new history of China containing a description of the most considerable particulars of that vast empire.* (trans. Quilby, John, London) (*Nouvelle relation de la Chine, contenant la description des particularités les plus considérables de ce grand empire*, Paris: Claude Barbin),1688, pp. 347-348, in: Faure 1993: 46-47

In the eighteenth century critiques of such close links with the Christian apostles also appeared as we can read in La Coze's book, the *Historie de Christianisme des Indes* (1724) , where he quotes a letter written from Fuzhou by Father Maigrot in 1699:

> "[These] missionaries have confused the Apostle St. Thomas with a certain Tamo,...one of the most unworthy frauds that ever entered China"[405]

and he speaks about "the idol Tamo, which some imbecile or deceitful missionaries have dared to pass as the Apostle Saint Thomas", and who "descends from Xaca through twenty-eight [sic] degrees of succession".[406]

One century later we also find the criticism of such notion, for example in Jean-Pierre Abel Rémusat's book, the *Mélanges Asiatiques ou Choix de morceaux critiques et de mémoires relatifs aux religions, aux sciences, aux coutumes, à l'histoire et à la géographie des Nations orientales*:

> "The name of Bodhidharma...gave rise to curious errors. Old missionaries have taken him for Saint Thomas. Father Couplet believed that he was the twenty-eighth descendant of the Buddha; and Georgi, by adopting this erroneous supposition, and moreover committing an error of hundred generations, or about three thousand years, makes Ta-mo the one hundred and twentieth descendant of Chakia [Śākyamuni], and thinks that he is the same as a certain Thomas, a disciple of Manes. It is superfluous to point out the absurd character of such comparisons."[407]

But interestingly enough, Rémusat, the same author failed to distinguish Bodhidharma from the historical Buddha, as he wrote:

> "In the fifth century of our era, Buddha, then born as the son of a king of Mabar, in Southern India, judged it opportune to leave Hindustan never to return there, and went to stay in China. ...This god was then called Bodhidharma; in China, where it is unusual to disfigure foreign words, he was called Tamo, and several missionaries, who had heard about him under this name, believed that the person in question could only be Saint Thomas."[408]

When they finally realized that Bodhidharma could not be identical to any Christian apostles, the Jesuit missionaries changed their approach, and from initial enthusiasm, turned to criticising him and consequently the teachings of Chan Buddhism.[409]

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405 La Croze, M.V., *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*. Hague: Vaillant and N. Prevost, 1724, p. 43, in: Faure 1993: 47

406 La Croze, ibid., p. 506

407 Rémusat, Jean-Pierre Abel, *Mélanges Asiatiques ou Choix de morceaux critiques et de mémoires relatifs aux religions, aux sciences, aux coutumes, à l'histoire et à la géographie des Nations orientales* 1825-1826, pp. 126-127, in: Faure 1993: 47

408 Rémusat, ibid. p. 13

[409] However, even later on this approach to connect this *Tamo* with Christianity can be still found in some writings, such as in Louis Gaillard's book, *Croix et Svastika en Chine*, Milan: Archè, 1987 where he suggests that the mention 'religion of Ta-mo' might refer to the Nestorians (Faure 1993:48).

V. PLACE OF BODHIDHARMA IN THE MONASTERY

How did Bodhidharma appear in the monastery setting? How was his image perceived and used?

1. Meditation Hall

To answer this question, first we need to have a look at the setting of a Chan monastery. At the time of the formation of the earliest Chan schools monks usually lived as hermits in individual huts and caves, or individual huts connected to a monastery but situated in the surrounding woods or hills.[410] But after Chan reached its height with the official recognition in the Song Period, getting more political power the first organized monasteries appeared soon. Their speciality was the importance of the meditation hall. Huai Hai (d.814) canonized as Dazhi Chanshi (Great Wisdom Chan master) in 821, native of Fujian later lived in the Beizhangshan in Jiangxi ordered his disciples to build separate centres for meditation and urged them to bid anyone whether young or old, to enter the monastic community. The elder monk *zhanglao* should live in a room called *Fang zhang*. No Buddha Hall (*Fodian*) should be used, but only a hall of the Law (*Fatang*), where images could be displayed.[411] In Chan monasteries two places had the greatest importance: the meditation hall where monks were meditating and the lecture hall where the dharma was preached.

The meditation hall is a rectangular structure stands apart from the other buildings, and have to be situated in a silent place. In this hall there is usually an image of the first patriarch, Bodhidharma[412] on a table in the centre, otherwise the hall is empty; the large space of the tiled floor is used for the practice of ritual walking around in rows (circumambulation, Ch. *xingxiang*) which at certain times interrupts the sitting meditation. There are long benches around the walls on which the meditating monks are sitting, with crossed legs in a fixed order; behind the benches there are wooden platforms on which they sleep, and where they keep the few possessions that are allowed to them.[413] The command-post of the hall is a table on which we find the standard ritual objects: a large bell and a sounding board, a *muyu* (Kor. *moktak*), which is a hollow wooden percussion instrument shaped like a fish and a hand ring: all used to mark the sequence of exercises by means of signals, as it is forbidden to speak any words during the meditation sessions. Apart from these there is an incense burner and the *xiang-ban*, a flattened stick emblem

410 Prip-Møller 1937: 64-91

411 Ibid.

412 Zürcher (1985:34) mentions the image of Bodhidharma, but in the account made by the Danish architect in the thorough investigation on the architecture and function of the Chinese monasteries in the thirties of the twentieth century, speaks about a wider variety of images used in the same context. He mentions Bhaishajyaguru, the Medicine Buddha on the altar of the Meditation Hall as well as other images as the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara in the monastery Yao Wang gong in Ichang, Lu She Na at Pilusi in Nanking, Yu Po Li at Zhaoqing *si* in Hangchow Dicang at Qiongzhu *si* in Yunnanfu, Pi lu fo at Guei Yuan si in Hanyang and Bodhidharma only at the Wen Shu Yuan in Chengtu (Prip-Møller 1937:64-82).

413 About these possessions see Prip-Møller 1937:72. Amongst the 18 belongings the monks can keep an image of Buddha and an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

of the abbot's authority to punish and used to administer blows to monks who start nodding, or in other way transgress the extremely strict rules of the meditation hall.[414]

2. Patriarchs' Hall

In Buddhist monasteries we can find the image of Bodhidharma very often in the Patriarch's Hall (*Zushi tang*). During the Tang period patriarchal portraits served to preserve the lineage of the given school and for the memory of prominent monks.[415]
It is one of the most important places in the monastery. Its prominent position is inspired by the respect in which the monks hold their spiritual ancestors, a Buddhist parallel to Confucian ancestral worship. This hall is erected in honour of the patriarchs which differ a little according to the school to which the monastery belongs. We may find here the tablets commemorating the former abbots of that particular monastery alone, or commemorating the founder of that particular school. Entering the Buddhist monastery one's natural family relations become substituted by the ones in the monastery, a young novice is usually given under the spiritual leadership of an older monk, who becomes his spiritual father. In due time the young monk himself become a master of novices in the next generation and thus a family line is created of which records are often kept. This system could been influenced also by Confucianist ideals where filial piety was the root of other virtues.[416]
In the Patriarch's Hall of a Chan monastery we may find the painted scrolls of the deceased abbots of the monastery and images of the six patriarchs. Therefore no wonder that the founder of the meditation school, the Indian Bodhidharma is most commonly found in the Patriarch's Hall. The Indian group of Patriarchs is often called in Chinese the *Xizu* (Western Masters) while the Chinese Patriarchs were called the Masters in Eastern Soil (*Dongtu zushi*). Bodhidharma is represented here either in a painted scroll or with his sculpted image (plate 221). The style of these paintings are usually close to the technique used for representing the patriarchs (*chinsō*), in meticulous, highly coloured style, usually colourful silk paintings (sometimes can be on paper, too). All monasteries belonging to the meditation school should have a Bodhidharma image, and each of the five subdivisions of the school should have at least one, too.[417] As the history of the Six Patriarchs has been connected to the Yangzi valley, we can find the majority of the halls to their honour in that region.[418]

414 Cf. Zürcher 1985: 34

415 The practice for creating memorial chapels for important monks (Ch. *Yingtang* or *sutang*) was established by the ninth century. In Dunhuang in the so-called 'Sutra cave' we can see a portrait-sculpture of monk Hongbian shown in a seated position (Whitfield 1983: Vol.I.10).

416 Cf. K.L. Reichelt:224-225 (Prip-Møller 1937:92)

417 Prip-Møller 1937: 92-94

418 Ibid.

3. Use of Bodhidharma paintings

Despite the claim of the meditation school for not relying on outer devices for achieving enlightenment[419] this school also used paintings for their rituals and as a cult image.[420] Brinker writes that "Zen art hardly ever assumes the function of establishing contact between worshipper and worshipped deity by magically evoking a tangible presence of the deity. Rather, its functions are limited to a few fundamental aspects: it may serve as a memorial effigy, as an admonishing image or a stimulating redemptive picture, as a document of spiritual or friendly ties, as a certificate of inheritance or seal of transmission, as a symbol of ethic-moral values, or generally as an expression of Zen Buddhist ideology."[421] However, in the level of popular religion, Chan/ Zen images functioned the same way as other religious imagery does. The situation is very similar to the Iconoclastic debate in Europe in the early Middle ages,[422] where as a conclusion Christian images were said to convey the same meaning as Chan imagery in Brinker's interpretation, but their function as idols never stopped in the heads of the ordinary believers.[423] Brinker also notes later that "the liberal Zen school could not entirely escape certain ritualisation" of the important events of the founders and patriarchs, their anniversaries.[424]

The fifth day of the tenth month is dedicated to the memory of Bodhidharma in the monasteries of the meditation school.[425] On this day paintings of him and the legendary episodes of his life[426] are exhibited throughout in the monastery and an incense sacrifice (Jp. *nenkō*) is offered in the main part of the liturgy.[427]

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419 Especially see Matsu Daoyi (d. 788), Hu Shih 1953

420 About this topic see the forthcoming volume: *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context*, (ed. Bernard Faure, Stanford University, 2003)

421 Brinker 1996: 115

422 The iconoclastic impulse surfaced in the iconoclastic controversy when in 726 and 754 Emperor Leo III Isaurikos (*reg* 717–41) and Constantine V Kopronymos (*reg* 741–75) were responsible for inaugurating the destruction of icons as well as violent actions against iconophiles. This antipathy was probably influenced by the advent of Islam and the Hebraic traditions. Icons were seen as a reversion to pagan idolatry. At the Synod of Constantinople (843) was based on the formulations of St John of Damascus, who defended the icon and defined it as a portrait that must present the recognizable characteristics of a holy person, while at the same time being distinguished from its subject.
See: J. Elsner: "Image and Iconoclasm in Byzantium", *Art History*, xi/4 (1988), pp. 471–91; E. Bevan: *Holy Images: An Inquiry into Idolatry and Image-worship in Ancient Paganism and Christianity* (London, 1940)

423 Sharf 2001: chapter 1

424 Brinker 1996:115

425 Brinker 1996:116

426 The scene of Bodhidharma's encounter with the Liang Emperor Wu was not popular for visual representations. Only from the ninteenth–twentieth century Japan do we have examples of the depiction of this episode (an oil paintings in the Western historicized style, and screen paintings remembering all well-known episodes from Bodidharma's life). The reason can be not only to avoid the founder's not really appropriate behaviour in front of the emperor, but the fact that this type of picture cannot evoke religious sentiments comparing to the more icon-like episodes as the meditation scene, the crossing or even the one-sandal episode.

427 Brinker 1996:116. An eulogy written between 1264 and 1269 on Mount Jing by Xutang Zhiyu (1185-1269), the abbot of Wanshou monastery is preserved in Kyōto, at Daitoku-ji. *Kokuhō* [National Treasures of Japan] Vol.5. No.47. Cf. Brinker 1996:116

T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf describe a ceremony called "entering the [abbot's] room" (*rushi*).[428] "In this formal procedure the abbot's disciples would come before him one at a time to receive his instruction in a semi-private setting. Bodhidharma's portrait, variously referred to as *ting-hsiang*[429] or *hsiang,* was hung in the abbot's outer quarters with an offering table set before it. At the start of the ceremony, before withdrawing to his room, the abbot himself would make prostrations before the portrait. Prior to entering the abbot's room each disciple would face the portrait and make an offering of incense and prostrations, whereupon he would enter the room, approach the abbot, bow and stand respectfully at he southwest corner of the abbot's seat. The disciple would then "speak his mind" and wait for the abbot's instructions."

As Foulk and Sharf noticed, the "portrait of the first patriarch Bodhidharma, sitting outside the abbot's room, not only served as a reminder of the exalted spiritual patrimony of the abbot, but it also helped to frame the mythic context of the rite: the exchange between the abbot and his disciple ritually re-enacted the countless dialoges recorded in Ch'an biographical collections, in which the redoubtable masters of old sought to test the fortitude and insight of their students."[430]

The images used at these rituals were probably similar to the patriarchal portraits used in other ritual context as the same term *ting-hsiang* or *chinsō* is used to refer to them.[431]

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428 Foulk & Sharf 1993-1994: 194

429 In Japanese pronounciation: *chinsō.* This term is used to refer to patriarchal portraits used in other ritual context.

430 Foulk & Sharf 1993-1994: 194

431 ibid.

VI. BODHIDHARMA IN KOREA

1. Previous researches on Korean Seon Painting

If we compare the published material dealing with the Chinese and Japanese meditation school and the related pictorial art, we find that comparing to them there are only a few sources available on Seon, the Korean meditation school. There are not enough studies in Western languages that view Buddhism in East Asia including Korea in detail. The reason is partly the recent attitude rooted in the Joseon Dynasty (1392- 1910) when the official ideology was based on Neo-Confucianism, and Buddhism to a great degree lost its vital force. The reason for that was the immense political power of the Buddhist monasteries in the previous period (Goryeo, 935-1392) when the clergy of the monasteries actively participated in politics.
The artistic formulation of meditation Buddhism is a more neglected topic than the religious-doctrinal aspects of Seon Buddhism by scholars on the field. There is virtually no material on this topic in Western languages, and the few sources available in Korean[432] are not always critical enough but they are a great contribution to our knowledge and good reference materials.

2. Korean Paintings of the Meditation School with a Special Emphasis on Bodhidharma-Paintings

Goryeo Period (935-1392)

After meditation Buddhism was introduced to the Korean Peninsula,[433] visual representations connected to this school have also appeared consequently. But unfortunately there are no extant images from these earlier times, only a few references in written sources. Dealing with the subject-matter in the Goryeo dynasty painting, Go Yuseop describes in his book the increasing interest in Daoist and Buddhist figure painting in the late Goryeo Dynasty.[434] He suggests that the reason lies in the political climate when the military dictatorship was prevalent in Korea. As in Japan, the military-oriented groups found their ideological interest in meditative schools (Kor. *Seon*) rather than the more elaborated textual schools (Kor. *gyo*) who did not support the military rulers. According to some records on Buddhist painting in the Goryeo Dynasty the most common image type was that of the arhats, then the second popular one was the bodhisattva

[432] Among the following references written about Seon art in Korea the majority are written by Choi Sun-taek (Choi 1995 about Bodhidharma-pictures, Choi 1996 about Chan painting in general, and Choi 1998 about Korean Seon painting). There is a book by Hong Yun-shik 1994 about Korean Seon art, but the rest of the scholarly studies on Seon art in Korea are MA –dissertations (Yi Soseon 1988 about Korean Seon painting, Hong'ik University, Cho Pyeongwan 1988 about Zen ideas and painting, Kim Jihyeon 1991 about Zen ideas and Zen painting, Hong'ik University, and Im Deok-su 1999 about the Zen painting of Kim Myeongguk, Dongguk Buddhist University).

[433] According to Ko Ik-chin (1988:21), Seon Buddhism was introduced by the Hongzhou order, in the reign of King Seondeok (r.809-826) in the late Unified Shilla period.

[434] Go Yuseop 1966: 244

Avalokiteśvara, the third was *pohyeon* (universal kings) and the fourth most popular image was the one of Bodhidharma.[435]
In the collection called the *Dongguk Yi sanggukjip* (Collection of Minister Yi of the Eastern Country) there are two pictures of Bodhidharma mentioned made by anonymous painters in the first half of the thirteenth century bearing the inscriptions by Yi Gyubo.[436]
The translation of the poem follows[437]:

> "Inscription by Yi Gyubo on the painting of 'Master Bodhidharma'
> In Shaolin Temple meditating facing the wall
> (in order to) transmit the mind.
> The mind is already transmitted to the East,
> So (only) the body and the form can go to the West
> Even now what I can
> Transmit is only the mind.
> The body is unnecessary
> The body has already left
> Why do I have to paint figures then?
> Painting figures searching for mind
> Is the same as
> Trying to find relics (*śari*) in the snake's shed skin.
> Whether it is body or image
> Some things exist, some do not.
> If body is a thing in a dream,
> Then the image is a dream in a dream.
> Body and image return to the endless emptiness (*śunyata*)
> Only the mind and the Moon will be left together permanently."

The inscription suggests a great deal of iconoclastic ideas, and we cannot get many clues about the representation itself on which Yi Gyubo wrote his comments. It could have been an image showing Bodhidharma during meditation as the first lines of the inscription indicated but also could have been a scene of Bodhidharma's return to the West, but the latter is less probable. The inscription had very much common with the revolutionary Chan schools' ideas. Zongmi's (d. 841) commentary on the *Yuan jiao jing* lists the seven great schools of Chan in China, we can find the most important trends and teachings. Amongst them probably the Baotang monastery in Chengtu founded by monk Wuzhu (d.774) was the most radical teaching that "all forms of Buddhist religious practice- such as worship, prayer, repentance, recitation of sutras, painting the image of the Buddha, and copying Buddhist scriptures-were forbidden and condemned as foolish."[438] In Korea a similarly drastic school, the one of Matsu Daoyi (d. 788) had a strong impact. The inscription written by Yi Gyubo echoes the famous story of one of Matsu Daoyi's disciples,

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435 Go Yuseop ibid.

436 Yi Gyubo 1913 (1982: 120)

437 Translation from the original Chinese characters into Korean in Im Deoksu 1999: 9-10. My English translation.

438 Hu Shih 1953: 12-17

Tianran (d.829) who spent a cold night in a ruined temple with his fellow-travellers. As it was cold, he got a wooden Buddha image out of the temple and made a fire. When his fellow travellers asked him what he was doing he replied that he was only looking for the sacred relic (śari) of the Buddha. "How can you expect to find a *śari* in a piece of wood?"-asked his fellow traveller. "Well,"said Tianran "then I am only burning a piece of wood after all." The reference of the shed snake skin also recalls some legends existing in Korean imagination. According to one of these stories Bodhidharma was a nice Indian man cultivating the dharma who once heard about a village where in the crossroads a huge snake had died and started to decay. Its smell became so unbearable that people could not pass by, nor they could lift the snake's body. Then Bodhidharma decided to help them. As he was a master in leaving his body, he entered the skin of the snake and moved it into the sea.[439] This story has very much common with the stories about the Daoist immortals, namely the one when Li Tieguai, the immortal, left his body in charge of his disciple when he went to the realm of longevity. As he did not come back by the expected time, the disciple burnt the body thinking his master was dead. Therefore, upon his return, Li Tieguai had to take the shape of a different body, that of an ugly old beggar who had just died.[440]
Mentioning the Moon as staying with the mind permanently recalls another image representing Hanshan pointing at the Moon. The only examples of this topic painted in Korea that have survived only from the Joseon Dynasty but this iconography might have existed earlier. The story emphasises that while pointing at the Moon one should forget about the pointing finger.
The other inscription by Yi Gyubo on the second Bodhidharma-painting is the following:

"The master has come from the West. In the East his mind has enlightened. No one can love the master? The mountain-dweller loved the master and showed his respect for him. He loved Bodhidharma's Tao and he was always thinking of the figure of Bodhidharma, and let other people paint his image. He asked me to write a brief inscription on the painting. And I wondered why I should write it very briefly. So I asked whether it would be better to write a formal inscription. Then he said: that would be good, but the size of the painting is very small, so I want you to write only the history of the painting. I felt lucky because he asked me to write on it very briefly, following his request, now I am writing only a brief account."[441]

From this inscription we also cannot get much information concerning the style and iconography of that Bodhidharma-painting. We only know that the size of the painting was very small and the man who ordered the painting was living in the mountains (probably a hermit or a monk).

Other inscriptions by Yi Gyubo were made on a painting showing Budai the unconventional monk regarded as an incarnation of Maitreya.[442] The figure of Fenggan with his pet tiger was also popular in the Goryeo dynasty as we learn from a painting entitled in *Ikjejip*, the collection of Yi

439 Popular legend heard in Korea June 2002

440 Jungman 1990: 24

441 Yi Gyubo 1982: 563; Appendix p.152

442 Yi Gyubo 1982: 209

Jehyeon (1287-1367).[443] In this collection we can read about a Bodhidharma-painting by Woltam Changno bearing the inscription of Yi Jehyeon.

Another reference on the Bodhidharma-paintings from the Goryeo period can be found in the collection of Chaesu, called *Noejejip.*[444] In this collection we can read about a painting of Bodhidharma by the painter called Maengkong in Ungo temple. This reference is a travel review, a commentary made on the painting which was seen by the author. He visited Ungo temple in 1465 where he saw this Bodhidharma-picture. The most interesting feature is that the painting contained the painter's inscription and his signature. The picture was painted in the era between 1335-1340 or in 1341-1367.[445]

We have another reference on the same painting in the collection of Kwongeun (1352-1409)[446] where we can read about the "Songdo Ungo temple's Bodhidharma-painting". He writes about the content of the painting, and that it was hung in a room of the temple, but he also mentions the painter's inscription and signature.[447]

From the second half of the fourteenth century we have a reference to a painting of Bodhidharma's crossing the river Yangzi by King Gongmin.[448] The monk Gugok Ungong received two paintings and a calligraphy by King Gongmin and one of the two paintings one representing Bodhidharma.[449]

Another reference to the same story concerning monk Gugok Ungong is a commentary by Yi Saek (1328-1396)[450] which can be found in the selected writings of Eastern literature (*Dongmunseon*). It mentions the monk Gugok Ungong who has received two paintings, one of Bodhidharma's crossing and the other one representing Samanthabhadra on a white elephant. Ungong, who was the leader of the Chogye school asked Yi Saek to write about the painting in the inscription.

The Collection called *Toeunjip*[451] contains a poem by Yi Sung-in (1347-1392) celebrating monk Gugok Ungong and referring to the subjects of both paintings. The poem goes as follows:

> "Ordinary man who is bowing his head
> Riding a white elephant with the sign of mysterious power.
> Hallo! Bodhidharma is riding on a reed
> Maybe this habit is the same".[452]

A poem by Yi Inbok (1308-1374) also praises the king's paintings. In it he speaks about

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443 *Ikjejip* 1978-80: 17

444 Im Deoksu 1999: 12-13

445 Im Deoksu 1999: 12

446 *Yangchonjip* 1997, Vol. V. p.25

447 Im Deoksu 1999:13

448 *Toeunjip*, Yi Sung-in 1999

449 The other one showed Samanthabhadra.

450 Literatus of the late Goryeo period. His pen name was Mokeun. *Toeunjip* 1999: 149

451 *Toeunjip*, ibid.

452 Translation into Korean from Im Deoksu 1999: 13, my English translation. See in Appendix p. 151

"the high skill of the calligraphy in the writing. The two figures (i.e.Bodhidharma and Samanthabhadra) are very similar and very natural. Comparing the king's work to the paintings by Gu Kaizhi and Lu Tanwei, the latter can be considered bad quality. And his calligraphy is much deeper than the ones made by the famous Chinese calligraphers Zhong Yao and Wang Xizhi. Oh! If you hang those paintings in the temple it couldn't be honoured enough! The king's favour cannot be compared with a lot of money!"[453]

King Gongmin also painted the theme of Śākyamuni emerging from the mountains. Seonghyeon, in his collection of writings (*Yongjae chong hwa*) wrote about that painting:

"[The king] was talented when he was born. It is only possible for born-talented persons to enter a higher status... In our country there has not been a good painting. Recently, the king's style has achieved a very high position. Two paintings, the portrait of Princess Noguk painted in the Painting Academy (Dohwaseo) and Śākyamuni's emerging to the Heong deok temple. Sometimes we can see landscape paintings by King Gongmin in noble homes (*Taegakjip*), which are really stunning."[454]

In the collection *Yangchonjip*[455] of *Kwongeum* (1352-1409) we can find another reference to a Bodhidharma painting made in the Goryeo Dynasty. This work made by Yi Dujeom dated to 1380.[456] The reference is in a form of a poem entitled "Yi Dujeom's painting- Bodhidharma asked someone to write inscriptions who gave two poems."

> "One brush on the table comes and goes for a second,
> Changing into the appearance of the old monk.
> Originally there were no things like that on the paper,
> So I can see the matter is emptiness.
>
> If you get a result of study classics in your everyday life
> You can have the centre of the world in your mind.
> You can be Yao and Shun with empty heads of grain.
> If you have a very small thing why are you determined to paint Bodhidharma?"[457]

Yi Dujeom was Kwongeun's friend and appeared in three places in our sources.[458] Based on this information we can guess that Yi Dujeom's Bodhidharma-painting was executed around or before the 1380s.

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453 *Toeunjip*, Dongmunseon 1999: 151

454 O Sechang, p.151 (from Im Deoksu 1999: 15)

455 *Yangchonjip*, 1997. Vol. 3. p. 113. Collection of Kwongeun (1352-1409)

456 *Yangchonjip*, 1997:112

457 Yao and Sun the two first legendary kings in China. *Yangchonjip*, 1997. Vol. 3. p. 113, see Appendix p. 152

458 The first occasion when Kwongeun said farewell to someone and he used Yi Dujeom's poem. The second time was when he sent something to Yi Dujeom, and the third time was in 1381, when

Early Joseon Period (1392-1550)

The Joseon period was not as favourable for Buddhism as the previous Goryeo period was, but in art and thought Seon ideas continued to exist mixed with Confucian and Daoist ideas and were popular among ordinary people. Important paintings of the era were made by professional artists, like An Gyeon and by the royal family members, Prince An Pyeong (1418-1453). From the latter's oeuvre only poems remained from which we guess that his paintings were probably landscapes.[459]

The painter Ch'oe Gyeong[460] who was the official painter of the royal family, had copied a painting of the 'Three Laughers'. The description of that painting remained for us in the correspondence of Pak Insu.[461] The original of this painting was said to have been painted by Li Gonglin (1049-1106) of the Northern Song Dynasty. Cho Maengcho obtained the painting in China and then Ch'oe Gyeong was called to copy the painting and Yi Seok-ryu copied the inscription.

A document called *Myobeop yeonhwa gyeong* has remained for us about a Bodhidharma-painting supported by the royal family.[462] The publication of this document was supported by the queen, Jeonghwi daewang daebi, wife of King Sejo (1455-1468), and mother of the king Seongjong (1469-1494) in the seventh month of 1488. Her aim with this deed was to pray for the previous kings and her husband who was already dead by that time. This document contains some descriptions of paintings among which two Bodhidharma-paintings are mentioned. Unfortunately only this document remain as proof that in the early Joseon dynasty Bodhidharma paintings were painted with the support of the royal family.[463]

The painter Yi Sangjwa is also indebted for painting Bodhidharma's crossing the river Yangzi.[464] He was a figure-painting specialist, and we know about his set of arhat paintings from which five pieces have survived.

Later Joseon Period (from 1550)

Later in the Joseon period the status of Seon Buddhism was elevated somewhat comparing to the beginning of the dynasty. In the beginning of their rule, the new ruling dynasty tried to eliminate the previously powerful rulers who had strong connections with the Buddhist clergy and Buddhist

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Kwongeun was sick with eyes trouble, he sent two poems to Yi Dujeom and Yi, in return, sent him four poems (Im Deoksu 1999: 16).

459 O Sechang: 205

460 His pen name was Sacheong, Yeocheong and his other name Guche. Though An Gyeon and Choe Gyeong's names are both faded away, An Gyeon's fame as a landscape-painter and Choe Gyeong's fame as a figure painter still pervaded (*Yongjaechonghwa*) (Im Deoksu 1999:19 note 72).

461 His real name was Pak P'aeng nyeon. Pen name: Insu

462 Cheon Hyebong: *Hanguk seojihak yeongu* [Studies of the Korean Bibliographies], Samsung Publishing, 1991 (from Im Deoksu 1999: 23-24).

463 About royal patronage of Buddhism in the Joseon period, see Dr. Youngsook Pak's forthcoming article on sūtra production.

464 Heo Gyun (1569-1618) who was a practitioner of Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism at the same time (O Sechang).

monasteries, and also actively participated in politics. But following their harsh measurements, later it has to be changed. The two most famous Neo-Confucianist scholars of the time Toegye Yi Hwang (1501-1570) and Yulgok Yiyi (1536-1584) were also influenced by the Buddhist thought.[465] And in the mid-Joseon Period the examination for monks was reinstated[466] and monks could serve as civil servants in the government. At the end of the sixteenth and in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Joseon State was attacked by the Manchus and by Japan[467] and during the war many monks took part in the battles. Seon thought became popular and the leading monk of the time was Seosan Taesa (Great Master of the Western Mountain as he was called in the posterity) (1520-1604)[468] who lead the monks' troop joining the government troops against the Japanese army.

Seosan Taesa Hyujeong and another monk Sa'myeongtang Yujeong (1544-1610) was recorded to painted Seon themes, among them paintings of Bodhidharma and they wrote poems on Bodhidharma paintings, too.[469] In the collection of Seosan Taesa Hyujeong's[470] writings we can find mentions of inscriptions on several Daoist and Buddhist paintings among them Bodhidharma and Bodhidharma's Crossing the Yangzi River. Sa'myeongtang Yujeong[471] visited Japan in the first decade of the seventeenth century. During his stay he wrote inscriptions on Bodhidharma paintings executed probably by Japanese monks. Fortunately enough two of these paintings have survived to our age. Both paintings show Bodhidharma in the most popular half-body composition and bearing the same verse as inscriptions by Sa'myeongtang Yujeong (plates 192; 201).

Another painter who was credited with making a painting of Bodhidharma was Naong Yijeong (1578-1607), who was from a painter family. He had lost his parents when he was a child and lived at an uncle's house. Heo Gyun (1569-1618) who wrote a memorial essay for him, after Naong died in a young age, mentioned that Naong Yijeong showed his talent already at the age of five and later even the Chinese painter Zhu Zhifan praised his paintings.[472] But he was also talented in writing poems. Once he had a great interest in Buddhism he wanted to become a monk and he painted Bodhidharma-paintings.[473] From Heo Gyun's collected writings a chapter referring

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465 Toegye stayed in an independent institute with monks, and Yulgok became a monk before he became a Confucian scholar, so he knew the Buddhist classics. They have developed their teachings influenced by their knowledge of Buddhism (from Cheong Okja, *Joseon Hugi Yeoksa eui Yihe* (Understanding the Late Joseon History), Iljisa, 1998, referred to in Im Deoksu 1999: 34-35).

466 The examination was divided into the Seon school's exams and the Gyo (Doctrinal) school exams.

467 *Imjin* war with the Japanese: 1592-1595, *Cheongyu* war (1597-1598), *Cheongmyo* war (1627), *Pyeongja* war (1637)

468 He lived in the Mohyang mountains in the West. His names were Hyujeong, other names: *Hyeon'eung*, pen name: *Ch'eongheo*.

469 Reference from Im Deok-su 1999: 35

470 *Cheong'ho tangjip* Vol.1.; Ko Yuseop, *Joseon Hwaron jipseong* (Collections of Painting commentaries from the Joseon period), vol.1: 311 (referred Choi Suntaek 1998: 39 note 141)

471 He was born in the Im family, and as a child he learnt history and the writings of Mencius. But after the death of his parents in 1559, he became a monk in the Chikchisa (monastery in Kimch'eon). eunhwa seohwajing:272 (Im Deoksu 1999: 24 note 96)

472 Active in Wanli reign. *Dictionary of Chinese Artists*, p.195

473 Heo Gyun, "Yi hwa buljo chan" [Yi's paintings of the Buddhist patriarchs, their inscriptions], in: *Kanjuk* (reference in Im Deoksu 1999, 41), O Sechang: 493

to the inscriptions he wrote on Naong Yijeong's Buddhist paintings lists 'paintings of Śākyamuni Buddha, Amitabha Buddha, Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the first patriarch Bodhidharma, the sixth patriarch Huineng and others'.[474]
On the epitaph of the painter, Jukcheon Heoyui (1601-?) written by his older brother there is also a reference to a Bodhidharma-painting.[475]
In the National Museum of Korea there is an unpublished painting in ink and colours on paper showing a seated bearded man in a hooded robe (plate 222). His appearance is quite slender and lacks any cartoon-like features. The painting is categorized as a Bodhidharma-painting in the museum's inventory. The reason could be the existence of later Korean compositions following this one, and bearing the identification of the depicted person as Bodhidharma in their inscriptions (see plate 223 and plate 129, where the face of the crossing Bodhidharma shows similarities with the Seoul National Museum painting).[476] The painting in the Seoul National Museum bears only two seals with, what we can suppose is the pen name of the painter, Seol Bong. In the Joseon period around that time we know of three people using the same pen name, which makes it difficult to decide who the actual painter was. One of these persons were the monk Seok Hwi-An, who was a good writer and poet and who had a connection with an intellectual civil servant Jukeum Johwi Il at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The other possible person with the same pen name was the writer Kim Eui Shin who went to Japan together with Kim Myeongguk and Kim's fellow-painter from the Painting Academy (Dohwaseo), the civil servant and painter Kang Paek Nyeon (1603-1681) also used the same pen name.[477]

Kim Myeongguk and the problem of Bodhidharma as Huineng

The earlier extant pictures of Bodhidharma made by Korean masters are from the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries and have a strong connection with Japan. Amongst them the most famous are Kim Myeongguk's (ca.1600- after 1662)[478] Bodhidharma-paintings which long remained a

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474 Heo Gyun: "Yi hwa buljo chan" [Yi's paintings of the Buddhist patriarchs, their inscriptions], in: *Kanjuk* (reference in Im Deoksu 1999: 41), O Sechang: 493

475 O Sechang, "Misugieon": 550 (reference in Im Deoksu 1999:45 note 155) On the epitaph we can read that "My brother was very talented, he could play on musical instruments, too. He painted the portrait of our father, which as so lively as if he were alive. Among my brother's painting two are exceptionally best: one of Bodhidharma and one of the Immortal with the white deer. He painted my portrait, too, but I look now much different, as I am seventy years old and the painting was executed when I was only twenty-three and my brother was seventeen." (O Sechang, "Misugieon": 550; reference in Im Deoksu 1999:45)

476 Published in Kim Na-mi 2000: 124-125. pl. 36

477 About the three persons with the same pen name see: Im Deok-su 1999:45-46

478 According to the "Dongguk Munheon rok" (Collection of Records of the Eastern Countries), in the chapter "Hwaga pyeon" (Chapter on the painters) we can know that his family is coming from Ansan, which place was also called Yeonseong. So maybe this is origin of his pen name: Yeondam (Lotus pond), but as he was connected to Buddhism, the lotus in his pen name probably had the Buddhist significance. His other names were Cheon'yeo (heavenly water) and Chui ong (drunken old man). (O Sechang, chapter on Kim Myeongguk. Unfortunately we don't have many written sources on him, his birth and death dates are also not known for us. He used three differently written forms of 'Myeong' in his name but according to recent researches (Im Deoksu 1999 see table about the chronology of

model for long for the later artists on this theme. Kim Myeongguk was a member of the Dohwaseo. His contemporaries described him as a carefree drunkard, a characterization that corresponds to the Chinese image of the eccentric artist; and we know that during his stay in Japan the broad, forceful brushstrokes of his paintings suggest such an eccentricity. [479]
In 1637 and 1643 Kim Myeong-guk visited Japan as a member of an official delegation.[480] It has been suggested[481] that, like Han Shigak he was probably drawn to Zen/Seon Buddhist figure painting through commissions from Japanese patrons, who generally preferred Buddhist themes. Many of his paintings that are held in Japan are of this genre, whereas contemporary painting in Korea was dominated by secular themes. The style of both Kim Myeong-guk's landscapes and his figure paintings is very similar to that of the Chinese Zhe School particularly the works of the eccentric Wu Wei. The most impressive example of this affinity is his most famous painting of Bodhidharma in the Seoul National Museum (plate 193), which depicts the patriarch with a few forceful, yet delicate, brushstrokes.

Among Kim Myeongguk's Bodhidharma-paintings there is a triptych preserved in the Tokyo National Museum where on the central panel we can see Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed (plate 82). His head is covered with a dark hood which is quite unique in this kind of representation but we can find its source in the famous Ming Chinese printed book the *Sancai tuhui* [Kor. *Samjaedohwi*] showing the famous Daoist and Buddhist masters with illustrations on each page giving an important source for the artists. In this book the Sixth Chan patriarch Huineng has the dark hood and similar facial expressions (plate 224),[482] so we can suppose that Kim Myeongguk had used this pattern-book but with a little modification of the topic itself. Using Huineng's iconography given by the *Sancai tuhui* and followed by the *Xianfo qizong* [Kor. *Hongssiseonbulgijong*] printed in 1602 the hood is no darker than the robe itself (plate 228), we can find in other representations of Bodhidharma, too. The wall painting of the Keukrak Hall of Taewon temple in South Jeolla province shows Bodhidharma with the same features as we saw in these model books representing Huineng, but we can be sure about the identity of the wall painting as Bodhidharma as he is shown with Huike presenting Bodhidharma his cut off arm (plate 229).

The 'Original' Model from Shaolin Monastery

Other paintings showing Bodhidharma with Huike are quite different from the previous one. One of Korea's three most famous temples, the Tongdosa has a wall painting dated around 1670 where a bearded big- eyed person can be seen in profile sitting on a straw mat under a pine tree and

using the different characters, p.49) there was no consistency using the different characters in his name, so they are not helping in dating his paintings.

479 We know several stories about him written by Nam Yuyong (1698-1773) in the collection called Noe Yeon jip (Nam Yuyong, Noeyeonjip, Jinhwisok ko, pp.35-36).

480 He stayed ten months in 1637.

481 Yi Tong-ju 1973:54-58

482 The dark hood of Huineng as a visual formula existed from the twelfth century, where we can see Huineng represented among the patriarchs wearing the separate hood (plate 225) which was coloured to a darker colour on later copies (plate 226; 227).

holding a begging bowl (plate 230). A young monk noticeably smaller in size than him is holding a book and bowing in front of the seated man. There are no hints of cutting off his arm but how do we know then that this person is Bodhidharma? Our way leads back to China for the model preserved at the famous Shaolin monastery which is strongly connected with Bodhidharma himself. The image preserved here shows the same posture the main figure in the wall painting (plate 231). This type of face was used as a model for a recent commission for a Bodhidharma sculpture which was made by a Chinese artist for the Waujeong temple in Gyeonggi province in Korea erected in 1992 (plate 232).[483] In Korea's other famous monastery, the Haein-sa where the printing blocks of the Buddhist canon the Tripitaka Koreana is preserved has another Bodhidharma-painting from the Joseon period which somewhat resembles the wall painting in Tongdosa (plate 233). We can see its influence on other Bodhidharma-paintings too, where the facial expressions are similar though the setting is different, e.g.the painting in the Emille Museum (plate 234).

Kim Hongdo and the Problems of Bodhidharma as an Immortal

In the oeuvre of another famous Korean artist, Kim Hongdo (1745- after 1814) who is considered as one of the most outstanding artists of the Joseon period (1392–1910) we can find paintings showing figures standing or sitting on a reed. One of them where the figure is standing on a reed bears an inscription 'Picture of crossing the sea on a reed' (plate 235). Even though we know stories from Japan claiming that Bodhidharma actually crossed the sea and went to Japan, this tradition can be also traced back to the depiction of the Daoist immortals crossing the sea which iconography has a long history before Bodhidharma's appearance. In the case of Kim Hongdo we know that he painted Daoist topics, too. And if we look at the figure on his painting we can see his East Asian rather than Western features and the fur around his waist also suggests the immortal qualities (see as a parallel Shen Chou's painting of an immortal from China in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, plate 236). The other painting shows a young boy sitting and sleeping on a reed (plate 237), a topic which was also popular amongst the artists of eighteenth-century Korea (see Shim Sajeong's (1707-1769) painting on the similar theme, plate 238), but even though there are still some confusion in the identification of this crossing figure with Bodhidharma.[484] It is very probable that the sitting young figure is following the iconography of an immortal (see other young immortal figures crossing, seated and without a reed, from Korea: plate 239; from China: plates 161, standing figure: plate 240). This is supported by the fact that Kim Hongdo painted very similar scenes on immortals' crossing, for example an immortal crossing on a shrimp (plate 241).

However, the strongly-held view that Kim Hongdo's crossing paintings represented Bodhidharma resulted in later images using this iconography, either showing Bodhidharma as a young boy (plate 104) or showing Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed in a seated position (plate 242).

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[483] In the Korean Seon Buddhist magazine, the *Seon Munhwa* (Pyeon Jippu 2002/4: 20-21) we can read that erecting a sculpture made in China is an attempt to get access to the 'real' image of Bodhidharma, again using the most authentic Chinese sources.

[484] Kim Na-mi 2000: 90-91

We have seen from these few examples that the identification of a certain personality in visual arts is interlinked with the beliefs of a given society, adding new qualities to an existing legend. In the case of Korean Bodhidharma-images the tradition of arhat-paintings and the Daoist immortals gave a great contribution and the existence of certain models and pattern books are evident, though their use was not always from first-hand and there was freedom in a certain degree in mixing the models as we have seen in using Huineng's figure for depicting Bodhidharma.

VII. BODHIDHARMA IN JAPAN

Although the story of Bodhidharma has its origins in China and spread to most East Asian countries, it is in Japan that he became the most popular and the most visible figure, seen not only in the temple compounds but in everyday life as well, in the streets, in homes, offices, restaurants, public buildings and many other places. His name in Japanese is Bodai Daruma, but he is known mostly as Daruma, sometimes with the honorific titles, as *Daruma daishi* ('great master Bodhidharma', which refers to an exemplary founder of the Zen tradition) or *Daruma san* ('Mr. Bodhidharma', a name which refers to his familiarity with everyday life). The presence of his figure is so pervasive in Japan, that it caused the literature to tend to deal with Bodhidharma as a typically Japanese phenomenon regardless of his presence in other East Asian countries.

1. How did Bodhidharma arrive in Japan?

In the twenty-second volume of the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicle of Japan) we can read a story about the Prince Shōtoku (572-622), the famous propagator of Buddhism as he met a hungry wanderer at the crossroads of Kataoka.The prince gave him food and his mantle and wrote a poem about him. On another day he sent an envoy to have a look at the poor wanderer, but he was told that the man he met on the road had already died. Shōtoku Taishi became very sad and ordered the body to be buried at the place where they had met. Some days later he told one of his attendants that the man he met on the Kataoka crossroads was not an ordinary man but a saint. And he sent a servant again to the tomb to observe it, but the servant reported to the prince that the body was missing, only the cloth which the prince had given to him lay on the coffin neatly folded up. Shōtoku Taishi then sent the servant back for the cloth, and he continued wearing it as before. People kept saying that "only a saint recognizes a saint", and started to respect their prince more than before. [485]

The association of Bodhidharma with the hungry wanderer appeared in a biography of Shōtoku Taishi, the *Ihon Jōgū Taishiden*, written by Keimei in 771, which asks at the end of the story: "Could that starving man have been Bodhidharma?"[486]
The tentative speculation in this text became an actual fact in the *Denjutsu Isshin Kaimon* composed by Kōjō in 834, which says that "the starving man was after all, Bodhidharma."[487]
The explanation for this was the story according to which Shōtoku Taishi (574-622) was the avatar of the famous Tendai Master Nanyue Huisi (517-577) and a legend states that Nanyue had once been Bodhidharma's disciple.[488] When they met for the first time on Mt. Tiantai,

[485] *Nihon Shoki* (translated from Chinese to Japanese by Inoue Mitsusada), Tokyo, Chūō Koronsha, Shōwa 62 (1987), pp. 98-99

[486] Kuranaka Susumu: "Shōtoku Taishi Kataoka Setsuwa no Keisei" in: *Man'yō* 10(1996), p. 23

[487] Kōjō: "Denjutsu Isshin Kaimon", in: *Taishō Shinshū Daizokyō Kankōkai*, 1964, p. 653

[488] Faure, Bernard: "Bodhidharma as a Textual and Religious Paradigm" *History of Religion* 25. no.3. (February 1986/b), pp.187-198

Bodhidharma predicted that they would both meet again in the next life in Japan. And this statement is followed by the story about the prince and the beggar, where the prince recognized his master in the poor man.[489]
In Kōkan Shiren's *Genkō Shakusho* (1322) we also find the same story with the identification of the hungry wanderer with Bodhidharma.[490]
Bodhidharma was also presented in other Tendai writings as well, for example in Kōshū's *Shūyōshū*, where his teachings were contrasted with those of the founder of the Tendai school, Zhiyi (538-97).[491]
Thus the legend of Bodhidharma became embedded into common knowledge and the image of Bodhidharma became identified with Japan as if in becoming a figure of popular culture the Indian missionary stepped out from the walls of the monasteries and mingled into the life of everyday Japanese people.
In a small temple at Ōji, in the Nara prefecture a site is indicated as the burial place of Bodhidharma, and two large stones as the supposed meeting place of Bodhidharma and the Prince. According to tradition that temple was founded by Prince Shōtoku who memorizing their meeting carved a Daruma image which is currently enshrined at Empuku-ji, a Zen temple near Kyōto. This statue is an Important Cultural Property and considered as the oldest Daruma statue in Japan, but in fact it is not older than the thirteenth century.[492]

2. Bodhidharma images in Japan

The appearance of Bodhidharma in many forms and roles is also remarkable in Japan. It not only exists in paintings, but sculpted in different media, formed from clay or papier-mâché, or produced in plastic. Its role is also various: it ranges from the venerable icon to a piece of art, a decoration, a talisman or a toy, or the combination of these.

In Japan we can find new elements added to the legend of Bodhidharma believing that he went to Japan crossing the sea on a rush leaf as he previously had crossed the Yangzi River and there are further stories connecting him with Prince Shōtoku, the famous great patron of Buddhism.
Bodhidharma plays several roles in Japan: he is a symbol of Zen practice and experience, a paradigm of perseverance, a popular god of luck, a patron saint for martial arts, and an object and inspiration for satire and humour.

Though Buddhism was introduced to Japan around the sixth century via Korea, and Chan Buddhism became to flourish from the ninth century onwards in China, it happened only in the Kamakura period (1185-1333) that Zen as a distinct school emerged in Japan. The monks who transmitted the Zen teachings studied in China in different schools. One of them was Eisai (1141-

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489 Kōjō: *Isshin Kaimon* (T.74.2379, 653b)

490 Kokan Shiren (1278-1348): *Genkō Shakusho* (vol.15-16.). *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*. Takakusu Junjirō et al., eds., Tokyo:Yōseido, 191-1922. Reprinted: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, ed. Tokyo: Kōdansha 1970-1973: vol. 62:66-230

491 Kōshū: *Keiran Shūyōshū* (T.76.2410, 532b)

492 McFarland 1987:18

1215) who introduced Rinzai Zen in 1191 and the other was Dōgen (1200-1253) who introduced Sōtō Zen to Japan.
It is usually considered that due to its simplicity Zen attracted the samurai elite who ruled much of the country in the Kamakura period, thus with their patronage Zen gained power and endurance. One of the earliest Zen schools was named after Bodhidharma called Daruma-shū (Daruma-school) and thus Daruma became a nickname for Zen.[493]
In the late Kamakura period Zen Buddhism gained still more influence among the military rulers, who sometimes themselves became practitioners of Zen arts, and painted Daruma-portraits. Zen monks served as their 'spiritual guides and cultural mentors'.[494] In the following Muromachi period (1336-1568) Zen Buddhism also enjoyed a great patronage from the ruling elite and produced its most elevated masterpieces in ink paintings. The fourth Ashikaga shōgun, Ashikaga Yoshimochi (r. 1392-1422) was a great devotee of Zen Buddhism and his Bodhidharma-painting is a famous example (plate 175).[495] We know that the emperor also painted Bodhidharma-portraits, as the extant example of the emperor Go-Yōzei (1571-1617, reigned 1586-1611) survived at the Jishō-in, Shōkoku temple, in Kyōto (plate 243).[496]

Bodhidharma as Self-Portrait

In Japan it became common among monk painters to portray themselves in the guise of Bodhidharma. We can see several convincing examples, from the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries onwards. Examples include the self-portrait and Bodhidharma-paintings of Fūgai Ekun (1568-1654) (plates 244; 245); the portrait photographs and Bodhidharma-paintings by Nakahara Nantembō (1839- 1925) (plates 246; 247); Yūzen Gentatsu (1842-1918) (plates 248; 249).

The Daruma Doll

In the popular imagination the continuous sitting of Bodhidharma resulted in the loss of his legs and his arms through atrophy, as they withered and fell off. Sōtō Zen which emphasizes the sitting practice (*zazen*) explaining that as the centre of power and energy of the human body is located below the navel, the leg and armless Bodhidharma figure is explained as a kind of illustration of concentrated meditation practice.[497] Tōrei Enji (1721-1792), a famous disciple of Hakuin referring to the *Damoduolo chanjing*[498] painted Bodhidharma in 1781 showing him with the indication of

493 Faure 1987/b: 25-55

494 McFarland 1987:35

495 In the collection of the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln.

496 The 177th Emperor of Japan Go-Yōzei who lived in a very critical period, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) attempted to gain power, and the emperor devoted his time to arts and lived as a scholar rather than a politician (McFarland 1987:22, 36 and see Tokyo 1988: no.16).

497 McFarland 1987:16

498 *Damoduolo chanjing* (T.15. No.618). A translation attributed to Buddhabhadra (359-429), completed around 413. The title of the original text was, apparently, Yōgachārabhūmi, one of many treatises sharing the same title. The original Indian text is lost, but is attested in the preface by Huiyuan (334-416) (Michel Mohr: "Tōrei's Commentary on the Damoduolo chanjing" handout of his lecture held on 16th January, 2003 at SOAS, Centre for the Study of Japanese Religions. To be published as "Imagining Indian Zen: Tōrei's Commentary on the *Damoduolo chanjing* and the Rediscovery of

the eighth, seventh and sixth levels of consciousnesses on his body as well as the field under the navel marked with dark red explained in the inscription of the painting as it 'indicates that it is the crucial point where vital energy is gathered'(plate 250).[499] Thus the roly-poly Daruma dolls symbolizing Bodhiharma's balance and concentration which enable him to get upright even though the doll is about to fall down or has fallen over.

The roly-poly Daruma dolls are known as *okiagari* ('eight-rising') on account of the proverb: "seven times falls, eight times rises" (*nana korobi, ya oki*), thus the Daruma doll is a symbol of perseverance and resilience.

Bodhidharma as a roly-poly doll is not only a toy for children, but a talisman for adults and possesses real power against plagues and illnesses. In earliest times Daruma dolls were used for protecting children from illness, especially from smallpox, so Bodhidharma was regarded as the god of smallpox.[500] This was partly because of its red colour, which has magical connotations throughout human's history and which was associated with magical and healing powers enabling it to absorb the smallpox (plate 251).

The Eyes of the Daruma Dolls

A well known custom is that when one buys or receives a doll such as this which usually has blank eyes, one should paint one of the eyes of the doll while making a wish, the other eye can be drawn only when this wish has come true (plate 252). The dotting of the eyes is an interesting counterpart of the traditional Buddhist ritual called *kaigen kuyō* (opening the eyes ceremony) in which a new Buddhist image can not be regarded as sacred until its eyes are ritually indicated. This custom has its roots in the ancient Chinese tradition and aesthetics.

According to an old Chinese chronicle a painter called Lie Yi (around the second century BCE) always left out the pupils of the dragons and phoenixes he painted, because if he had completed them, they could come to life and fly away.[501]

Gu Kaizhi (c.344- c.407) is also said to have placed particular emphasis upon "dotting the eyes", sometimes refraining from dotting the pupils for several years.[502] For Gu Kaizhi "dotting the eyes transmits the spirit and pours forth (*hsieh*) [xie] the shining (*chao*) [zhao]. It permits the spirit to take up its abode in the image...Which is to say that dotting the eyes *animates* the image, literally infusing it with life."[503]

Early Meditation Techniques during the Tokugawa" in: *The Zen Canon*, ed. by Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, Oxford: Oxford University Press)

499 With the courtesy of Prof. Michel Mohr, 2003.

500 Faure 2003 (the preliminary French version of the article "The Double Life of the Patriarch" to be published in summer 2003, in: *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context* was kindly provided to me by the author).

501 Quoted by Pál Miklós: *A Sárkány Szeme. Bevezetés a Kínai Piktúra Ikonográfiájába*, Budapest: Corvina, 1973 ("The Eye of the Dragon. Introduction to the Iconography of Chinese Art") see in German *Chinesische Malerei: Geschichte, Technik, Theorie* / Pál Miklós ; [aus dem Ungarischen übertragen von Heribert Thierry; Schwarzweissaufnahmen, Judit Kárász; Farbaufnahmen, Károly Szelényi; Zeichnungen, Zoltán Kemény; Gestaltung, István Faragó], Köln: Böhlau, 1982

502 Chen Shih-hsiang, *Biography of Ku K'ai-chih. Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations*, no.2., Berkeley, University of California Press, 1961: 14-15; and see: Susan Bush and Hsio Yen-shih (eds.), *Early Chinese Texts on Painting.*Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1985:14

503 Audrey Spiro: "New Light on Gu Kaizhi", *Journal of Chinese Religions* 16:12-13

Daruma dolls in Silk Farms

In silk farms in nineteenth-century Japan Daruma images were regarded as luckbringers maybe because the shape of the cocoons are like *okiagari* Daruma dolls. In some cases the cocoons themselves were used for making Daruma dolls (Jp. *mayu Daruma*), and sometimes a small weight was also put inside them to work like a normal *okiagari* doll.[504] The rite of filling the eyes was done the following way: in spring, when the first silkworms hatched they drew their first eye and when the second generation hatched in autumn they drew the other one. The set of five miniature Daruma dolls painted in different colours is also associated with silk production (plate 253).

The set of five colours invokes many associations, as the number five has a great importance in ancient East Asian culture. McFarland explains it with the five-coloured streamers in Shintō shrine displays, and its possible connections with the *gohei*, a vertical wand to which folded paper is attached. He suggests the supposition that "*gohei* is a relic of time when pieces of cloth were presented in this fashion and *gohei* and the streamers had a similar origin in the ancient Shintō cults."[505] He also thinks that it probably can be connected with the Shintō prayer (*norito*) which refers to offerings to the *kami* of five types, or - as the language makes it possible - five coloured types of things (*itsu-iro no mono*), which are traditionally interpreted as thin coarse silk strips of five colours.[506]

Japan adopted the Chinese cosmological system with its sophisticated equivalences and connections between time, directions, qualities and senses. Bodhidharma was also fitted into these correlations with his unique and caricature-like personage. As he is represented in a red robe, and red is connected with the element of Fire, Bodhidharma became associated with fire and consequently with the other qualities and directions given in the table of equivalences of the Chinese belief-system.[507]

Daruma in Social Satire

Bodhidharma was also used in *ukiyo-e* parodies, where "Daruma has been not only removed from the temple, but recast as a figure in the Edo period demi-monde."[508] In this role Bodhidharma is paired with a courtesan with whom he had exchanged clothes, and finally his figure is feminised, and he became a woman.[509] The term 'daruma' in the late Edo period was a slang for prostitute. Daruma with a courtesan can appear in two ways, either directly, with the courtesan as a second

504 McFarland 1987: 65

505 McFarland 1987: 66

506 ibid.

507 Yoshino 1995:114

508 McFarland 1987: 82

509 McFarland's article "Feminine Motifs in Bodhidharma Symbology in Japan" *Asian Folklore Studies* 14, Nagoya: Asian Folklore Institute, (1986), pp. 167-191

principal figure (plate 254), when they exchange clothes (plate 255)[510] and indirectly: as a picture on a wall (plate 256), a decoration on a garment (plate 257) or as a tumbler placed somewhere in a room.

For the question as to how Bodhidharma became a woman Kidō Chūtarō suggests that the model was a celebrated beauty of the Edo period called Han Tayū.[511] She was the highest rank courtesan in the Yoshiwara pleasure district in the end of the seventeenth century. Later on she was redeemed by a wealthy merchant and became a Buddhist nun. While she was a courtesan she heard the story of Bodhidharma sitting for nine years facing the wall. She laughed at it and said: "That is not such a big deal. Prostitutes have to spend every day and every night sitting and looking for customers - not facing a wall, but facing the street through the windows. After ten years in this world of misery, I have already exceeded Daruma by one year."And according to the lore, when the painter Hanabusa Itchō (1652-1724) heard this anecdote, he conceived the idea of merging Daruma and the prostitute into single figure.[512] Probably this was the first 'onna Daruma' (woman Daruma), which then became a popular figure among the floating world-artists and throughout Japan. The appearance of the *okiagari* onna Daruma dolls is also an interesting phenomenon.Their connection with the famous Russian Matryoshka dolls is already a proven fact.[513]

Daruma is a stimulus to childish fantasies and included imaginatively in the play activities of children. Apart from games played by children there are different kinds of wooden toys with Daruma, like puzzles and the popular dropping Daruma (Daruma otoshi) which consists of differently coloured wooden rings and on the top a flat-based Daruma image. The player should knock each rings under this column with the Daruma remains upright (plate 258).
In Japan a snowman is called 'snow Daruma' and its representation often appears in ink-paintings (plates 259).

Daruma Markets and Daruma Temples

Around New Year in several places Daruma-markets are held, extensively in Kantō area. They are scheduled one after the other in order to permit vendors to move from one place to another from early January till early March. Many temples in Japan are called Daruma temples. Some of them

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510 The same type of parody can be found in regard of Budai, when he is shown in woman's dress while a woman is represented with the big sack, the attribute of Budai (see the painting by Furuyama Moromasa (fl. ca. 1704-1748), reproduced in *Christies New York*, 27 October 1998:48-49.lot. 21).

511 Kidō Chūtarō 1978: 355-358

512 McFarland 1987:82

513 From the historical perspective, the dolls arrived in Russia relatively recently in 1890's from Japan. It is said that somebody brought to the Mamontovs, a renowned family of Russian industrialists and patrons of arts, a wooden carving of a Buddist saint with a surprise. The doll that came from the island of Honshu would break into two halves revealing a smaller one with the same trick, there were five. Ten years after Matryoshka had made its appearance in Russia, it was awarded a gold medal as a typically Russian toy at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1900. Eva Katkova, Siberian Vernisage website: http://sibvernisage.narod.ru

have a long history of taking part in the popular Daruma cults. Some of them started to make such associations after the Second World War to cope with their severe financial situation, and thought that with the visibility and the trading of Daruma dolls they would increase their income and popularity. Usually before the war parishioners gathered at the temple with their own hand-made Daruma-images to pray for protection and prosperity, and after the war these events were formalized to become an official festival and the home-made images were substituted with professionally crafted figures sold by the temple.[514]

In conclusion, Daruma was said to be a symbol of Japanese identity. In none of the East Asian countries where his figure appeared did he so become a part of everyday life of the people as in Japan. It corresponds to several associations and values: venerating the Indian source and the Chinese development of Buddhism, the adaptation and Japanization of Chinese cultural elements and Japan's own definition of the uniqueness of its ethos.[515] As McFarland summarized it aptly: "A great number of Japanese have been associated with Daruma. They have honoured and emulated him. They have deified and worshipped him. They have humanized and played with him. They have trivialized and made sport of him."[516]

514 McFarland 1987: 99-100

515 ibid.

516 McFarland 1987

VIII. SYMBOLISM OR ICONOCLASM

Chan Buddhism is considered to be a movement whose essence lies in a distrust of structured patterns of behaviour and belief. It aims to be liberated from all dependences that can be an obstacle to direct experience and spontaneity. But at the same time, Chan Buddhism is an institutionalised monastic religion with all the usual paraphernalia of any institutionalised Buddhist religion. In Chan Buddhism as a monastic religion Bodhidharma has a distinct place as the founder of the meditative school in East Asia. Therefore all temples of the meditation school should have an image of Bodhidharma, usually flanking the main image, Śākyamuni Buddha. In the homes of Zen parishioners we can also find Bodhidharma images in the family altar in Japan. On 5th October the memorial day of Bodhidharma's death temples perform memorial services in the temples of the meditation school.

Images of Bodhidharma as enshrined in the temples and elevated on the altars are venerated and worshipped by the followers. This phenomenon seems contradictory, if we think of the Chan teachings of freeing ourselves from symbols and idolatry. But if we look at the history of religions, we can see the same phenomenon, as with the institutionalisation and popularisation of a religion, the original teachings inevitably became blurred by the various beliefs and practices that accompanied them.

The iconoclastic ideas of Chan Buddhism can be seen in regard to all types of sacred things: towards founders, scriptures and images. We will see an example for each case:
The famous admonition of Linji Yixuan (Jp. Rinzai) (d.867), the Chinese Master says: "If you meet the Buddha, kill him! If you meet the patriarch, kill him!" [517]
As an example of destroying scriptures we can refer to the famous ink painting by Liang Kai from thirteenth century China where the sixth patriarch, Huineng is tearing up a sūtra. The sixth patriarch was said to be illiterate, another indication of the importance of the unorthodox and iconoclastic tradition.
For the destruction of images we have already mentioned the most famous example about a ninth-century Chinese monk Tianran of Danxia (739-829) who burnt a Buddha image to keep himself warm on a very cold night he spent in a ruined temple.[518]
The iconoclastic statements in the stories like these can be understood as didactical tools for drawing attention to the necessity of comprehension from a non-dualistic point of view, "which allows for the negation or reconciliation of opposites, and ultimately for their being transcended together."[519]

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517 See the article by McFarland: "If You Meet the Patriarch, Kill Him!", *Japanese Religions* 14 (1985):1, pp. 13-27

518 Hu Shih 1953: 12-17

519 McFarland 1987: 50

The conventions in the representations of Bodhidharma is a tradition which is a symbol of an iconoclastic movement. As the void, the empty space which is so often appears in Chan imagery and praised so highly isn't it a symbol in itself, too?[520]
The real ways of 'iconoclasm' or 'break-through's of conventionality appear in three important phenomena: in the Chan *gongan* [Jp. *kōan*]; the comic element in Chan; and the reductional graphics, amongst them the one-brushstroke Bodhidharma and the empty circle (Jp. *ensō*).[521]

Gongan

The *gongan* is a kind of riddle or enigmatic statement which is usually insoluble using rational analytical processes. Its aim is to help the novices to detach themselves from the only reliance on rationality and unnecessary verbalization. This iconoclasm is against the 'iconic elevation' of the brain, logic and language.
Bodhidharma is also present in these gongans, for example for the famous question "What is the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the West?" Chan masters usually give very inappropriate answers. Zhaozhou (Jp. Jōshū) replied to this question: "The cypress tree in the courtyard." Xianlin Yuan (Jp. Korin) answered: "After a long sitting one feels fatigued." Linji Yixuan (Jp. Rinzai) replied to it: "If there is any meaning at all, you can never save yourself."[522]
Another gongan by the Chinese Master Wakuan (1108-1079) who asked: "Why has the foreigner from the West (i.e. Bodhidharma) no beard?" This question for those students of Chan was an interesting one since the vast majority of Bodhidharma images the novice could have encountered previously and should have seen familiar with had a beard. And in most cases Bodhidharma has a beard which must have been the trickiest part in this question as if asking "why is that which obviously is present not here?"[523] Basically the experiences that Chan Buddhism tries to emphasize a special insight which doesn't depend on acquired knowledge or tradition, so Bodhidharma should be seen directly not as one remembers him from stereotypical portraits or imagination. One should know that he is not an independent reality, either human or divine, and not focus only on the attributes of a well-known and represented personality.

Comic Element in Chan

Coming from this iconoclastic tendency, humour has a very important role in Chan Buddhism. Not regarding the teachings saint and 'holy' as referred to by Bodhidharma in his famous interview with Emperor Wu of Liang, not taking things too seriously is at the core of Chan's teachings. Laughing is something which cannot be planned, is a result of an unusual revelation, a realm outside utilitarian and logical perceptions. Showing Chan personalities laughing (like Hanshan and Shide, Jp. Kansan and Jittoku) is a familiar scene in Chan art. Though Bodhidharma is not laughing, his too morose figure makes the viewers laugh. The satirical expressions and

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520 Referring to Keizan's ideas in *Denkōroku*, Faure 1996: 19

521 McFarland 1987: 50-56. I use the structure for my discussion from McFarland (1987), i.e. the three points: kōan; the comic element and the reductional graphic categories.

522 And there are plenty more recorded responses exist for the same question, all enigmatic in nature like these quoted ones (McFarland 1987:51).

523 McFarland 1987:51

humorous elements in representing Bodhidharma were always present and gaining more and more space, especially in the popular imagination and the related art. In accordance with the perception of daring to make fun of those usually venerated objects and personalities, in Chan Buddhism, the religious founder can be open to such treatment, even though in its place in the temple sites sometimes the veneration and the humorous aspects are mixed together and the devotees worship even the comic image enshrined. The comic expression of Bodhidharma comes from the depiction of the foreign-looking arhats whose efforts were regarded by the Mahāyānists as a kind of futile achievement compared to the deeds of the wonderfully depicted Bodhisattvas who are saving humankind. Though these arhats were not taken away but given their role as protectors of the Buddhist law, which was also influenced by their fierce and serious appearance. The description of arhats derives from the Daoist immortals who were usually out of the commonplace and quite unusual in their appearance as well as behaviour. Chan Buddhism was very much influenced by Daoist ideas, and the Chinese spirit of humour.

Reductional Graphics

With the medium of the monochrome ink painting, artists had a great freedom and a tool of abstract expression. Not describing the details frees up the mind and open up the imagination. In the pictorial renderings of Bodhidharma it became an exercise to reduce the number of brush strokes and intensify the expression. There was another way to portray Bodhidharma only with his attributes or calligraphy referring to him (see Hakuin Ekaku's ink painting with a single shoe and a reed). This technique was also common in art history, but the most interesting way is the one brushstroke Bodhidharma (Jp. Ippitsu Daruma). In these paintings the outline of the meditating master became more independent from its subject and finally became the empty circle (Jp. ensō), which is a symbol of the perfect enlightenment. The reductional portrayal started in the fourteenth century when though the robe was executed in a simple way with only one or two brushstrokes, the face and the chest are still depicted in a detailed way. This type of abbreviated style is still very popular, especially with the bust-portraits, where the strokes of the robe have the most important role as being executed quickly and concentratedly, showing the direct expression of the painter, while the face usually follows a more established iconographical pattern. Humour is also present in these depictions of outlined meditating Bodhidharmas, as some of these paintings contain an inscription drawing the attention of the similarity of the meditating Bodhidharma's shape to that of fruits or vegetables (plate 91). This humour also has a religious significance from the Chan doctrinal point of view as we have discussed before.
In the whole-body meditating Bodhidharma transcending into the empty void is a very typical development in Zen painting. As McFarland comments it very aptly: "the icon has been removed from the iconograph, and the graph that remains is but one short step away from the Zen symbol which signifies the transcending of all phenomena and categories-the *ensō*, the circle, symbolizing nothingness or emptiness, the void. Daruma has been dispensed with; the patriarch has been killed."[524]

As a conclusion, we can say that these images are not 'non-symbols', but symbols of a tradition which determinates itself against other traditions that emphasised the symbols and outer paraphernalia to a much greater extent. Reductional and simple Chan Buddhist imagery is an

[524] McFarland 1987: 54

'answer' to other traditional Buddhist schools. Their success lies partly in this attitude, that they could survive even after the severe anti-Buddhist executions; and partly because of their connections to political forces and influential personalities who helped in propagating Chan schools and helped in their popularity. The ideals of this school found a fertile soil in the West, again due to an opportune intellectual and historical atmosphere, and we can say that this popularity is still prevailing in our days.

SUMMARY OF THE THESIS

The topic of this thesis is that how Bodhidharma appeared in East Asian art, with a special emphasis on Korean Bodhidharma-paintings and the formation of Bodhidharma's iconography.

The first part contains the summary of the research methods used, and it is followed by the discussion of the nature of previous studies dealing with Chan Buddhist art. After that I briefly summarise the history and development of Chan Buddhism.

The subject of the second chapter is Bodhidharma as a person from a historical point of view. In this part I used the structuralist approach as it was used in the case of Chan Buddhism by Bernard Faure. This part of my research mainly relies on historical and religious historical sources about Chan Buddhism and I discuss the legendary life story of Bodhidharma as it appears in textual sources. Attached in the appendix a detailed list of sources is provided in chronological order. Additionally a table is included on the episodes of the legend, showing chronologically how each legendary element appeared in the Bodhidharma-texts.
During the research of development and meaning of the Bodhidharma-imagery I emphasise the need to look out for images other than Bodhidharma, representing other personalities and legends of the era. As a result, we can see that the Bodhidharma-iconography based not solely on textual sources, but inspired by other visual aids and other types of representations. Interestingly, these visual sources later became included into the textual sources as an integral part of them. In the thesis I draw attention to the fact that the interwoven link between visual images and the textual sources never should be abandoned when looking at religious imagery.
In the third part of the second chapter I discuss the name of Bodhidharma. What does his name mean? What is its significance? I then draw attention to possible confusions with other personalities with similar names who lived around the same time as Bodhidharma was thought to live.

My third chapter focuses on the images of Bodhidharma.
During the years of my research on Bodhidharma representations I have collected several hundred images which I have arranged on the basis of Chinese, Korean, Japanese paintings, statues and other documents.
I systematised the collected materials and arranged them in chronological order. By doing this we can get a clearer overview of pictorial continuity and stylistic divergences. In becoming more familiar with the history and culture of the region we can find out the reasons why these art pieces are of different styles and techniques.[525]
I set up the possible relations of certain types of paintings with the meditative school of Buddhism (Ch. *Chan*, Jp. *Zen*, Kor. *Seon*), the founder of which was Bodhidharma according to legend.

[525] For example, in Japan in the second part of the sixteenth century the so-called "Nanban" style pictures show the influence of European art, or in the seventeenth century Chinese late Ming-period influence can be traced to the Japanese Bodhidharma pictures when the Ōbaku school settled in Japan at that time.

After this I discuss the iconographical types of Bodhidharma in detail.

The third chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part I discuss the different iconographical types of the Bodhidharma-representations, then I discuss the styles used.

In the beginning of the first part I focus on the earliest Bodhidharma-images showing him in the context of transmitting the patriarchate to Huike. I introduce the earliest known Bodhidharma-images of this type; the images survived in Japan: the Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma; the Kanchi-in Bodhidharma; the Daigō-ji Bodhidharma; then the Bodhidharma of the Long Roll of Buddhist images from the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Analysing these images I stress their connection with a certain type of arhat-painting, which remained us in the scrolls attributed to Lu Lengjia and followed by several Song dynasty versions. I revise the previously held view of dividing Bodhidharma-imagery according to their 'Indian or Chinese' features, and show that the two distinctly different representational modes (the slender, often beardless figure and the stocky hirsute Bodhidharma-representations) are, in fact, share a common origin, and their models can be found among arhat-paintings. I draw attention to details in the Kanchi-in composition comparing it with the Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma-representation, which can shed light on the process of producing such images and the importance of the misinterpretations based on formal appearances.

Then I discuss the images of the meditating Bodhidharma. These images can be divided into two main groups: first where the meditation takes place in a natural setting, second, where the place of meditation is not specified, usually an empty background. The importance and significance of the landscape-setting and the cave is discussed in details in the beginning of the chapter, and after analysing several examples I discuss the significance of the Bodhidharma-images shown in an empty background. Then I show the meaning of those representational modes. I show that when Bodhidharma is depicted in the context of other Chan patriarchs in the beginning of the formation of his iconography, the 'presence' of the depicted person is emphasized and has connections with Confucian ideals. The natural background was supposed to indicate the 'quality' of the depicted personage, and can be connected to the depiction of arhats rooted in the representations of Daoist immortals. And finally, the reduced graphical representations in monochrome ink paintings emphasize the 'expression' of the painter, who, himself, in many cases an amateur, like literati-painters in Confucian tradition.

In the third part of this chapter I discuss the scene of Bodhidharma crossing the Yangzi river on a reed. After analysing images which I divide into four types, I discuss some problematic issues related to this episode of Bodhidharma's biography. I prove that the image of the crossing Bodhidharma on a reed as a visual formula had already existed long before its appearance in textual sources. I argue that in this case an already existing visual formula was applied to the Bodhidharma-legend. This visual reference leads again to the earlier arhat-iconography, which again enforces my thesis that the Bodhidharma-iconography is a derivative of arhat-representations.

In the fourth part I discuss Bodhidharma-representations showing him with one shoe, and show why this topic was not as popular as the scene of Bodhidharma crossing on a reed.

Finally, I discuss half-body Bodhidharma representations, first analysing Bodhidharma images showing him with his head covered with a hood, then the images showing him without hood. In this chapter I attempt to show the visual evolution of some contemporary Korean paintings.

The second part of the third chapter shows how different styles were used for representing Bodhidharma; and contrasts the *chinsō*-type colourful decorative mode with the monochrome ink paintings. With that it clearly can be seen that the first style was executed mostly by professionals and used in a ritual context, while the latter one was usually produced by monk-amateurs and used for personal demands.

The fourth chapter deals with the Legacy of Bodhidharma. I summarize here the Buddhist and non-Buddhist elements in Bodhidharma's legend and his representations. Chan Buddhism is a typically Chinese phenomenon; it mixes several native traditions with Buddhist thoughts. First I discuss Bodhidharma as a Buddhist arhat. Then I discuss the Daoist tradition which is present in depicting Bodhidharma as a Daoist immortal. The Bodhidharma-phenomenon also had strong connections with Confucianism. At the very beginning of the formation of the Chan Buddhist community, Confucian scholars made a great contribution to its survival, which fact is usually discarded by much literature concerning Chan history. The concept of the spiritual lineage of Bodhidharma also has roots in Confucian tradition, while the ink monochrome painting style used in representing Bodhidharma, was derived from the Confucian literati's painting modes. Then I summarize the importance of the unification of 'the Three Doctrines': Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism and show that this interesting interaction between these schools and traditions made a strong impact on the complexity of the Bodhidharma-imagery. Finally, I show that how Christian missionaries understood Bodhidharma as a Christian apostle.

In the fifth chapter I make an investigation of Bodhidharma's place in the religious space: how his visual image appeared in the web of rituals and within architectural settings. In this chapter I show Bodhidharma images in the Meditation Hall; in the Patriarchs' Hall; and Bodhidharma's presence in certain rituals.

Then, in my sixth chapter, for the first time in a Western language I explore the Bodhidharma images of Korea. Seon painting is a highly neglected field not only amongst Western scholars, but even in Korea, where the literature concerning Korean Seon imagery is not critical enough. In my thesis I have therefore attempted to break through this ignorance and reveal the importance of the Bodhidharma imagery made in Korea and its relations with China and Japan. Thus I try to fill the gap in our knowledge about East Asian Bodhidharma-paintings. I show that religious imagery was not restricted within the borders of a given country but crossed borders and reached and influenced the religious expression of the monks and practitioners involved whether in China, Korea or Japan.

I summarize the earlier paintings of Bodhidharma made in Korea, which have however only survived in textual sources. Then I discuss Bodhidharma-images in later periods, when we can detect the possible sources and dynamics of these representations and reveal their connection with China and Japan.

Then, I discuss some problems related to the Bodhidharma iconography in Korea and attempt to re-identify some falsely identified images, and give the possible reasons for that false identification.

These problematic questions are grouped into three categories around the most famous Korean painters: first, with Kim Myeongguk's (1600- after 1662) Bodhidharma representations as confused with the iconography of Huineng, the sixth patriarch, and its influence on the temple architectural paintings.

The second problematic issue is centred around the use of Chinese models survived in the Shaolin monastery and regarding them as authentic.

Finally, I discuss the so-called Bodhidharma-paintings of another famous Korean painter, Kim Hongdo (1745-after 1814), which I compare with his and his contemporaries' paintings of Daoist immortals proving that the identification of the given paintings found in the concerning literature and studies are cannot be held any longer.

In my seventh chapter I discuss Japanese Bodhidharma-images, paying attention the most specific features found only in Japan concerning these representations. First I show how Bodhidharma appeared in the earliest Japanese sources and draw attention to its significance. Then I show the typical features of Japanese Bodhidharma imagery. First I show how Bodhidharma was used as a self-portrait. The other very important Japanese feature of the Bodhidharma-imagery is its very presence in popular culture and everyday life of the Japanese people. I show the importance and role of the popular roly-poly Daruma doll, which with its very presence in Japan became a symbol of that country and conveys a rich diversity of popular beliefs and imagery.

In the last chapter I analyse the nature of symbolism of Chan Buddhism which is thought to be an iconoclastic tradition. First, the insoluble riddles, 'gongan' (Jp. kōan) is discussed as destroying the conventional way of thinking. Next, the comic elements are highlighted, then finally the reductional graphics, the 'one-brushstroke Bodhidharma' images are analysed from symbolical point of view.

As a conclusion, we can say that these images are not 'non-symbols', but symbols of a tradition which determinates itself against other traditions that emphasised symbols and outer paraphernalia to a much greater extent.

APPENDIX

TEXTUAL SOURCES

TEXTUAL SOURCES

No.	*Sources*	*Date*	*With Chinese characters*
1	**Luoyang qielan ji** (Record of the Buddhist Monasteries of Luoyang)	547	洛陽伽藍記
2	**Xu gaoseng zhuan** (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks)	645	續高僧傳
3	**Chuan fabao ji** (Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Jewel)	710	傳法寶記
4	**Chuan fa ji** (Record of the Transmission of the Dharma)	713	傳法記
5	**Lengjia shizi ji** (Annals of the Successive masters of the Laṅka)	712-716	楞伽師資記
6	**Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun** (On Establishing the True and False About the Southern School of Bodhidharma)	732	南宗定是非論
7	**Lidai fabao ji** (Historical Record of the Dharma Jewel of the Successive Generations)	774	歷代法寶記
8	**Baolin zhuan** (Transmission of the 'Jewel Grove')	801	寶林傳
9	**Liuzu tan jing** (The platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch)	cca 800	六祖壇經
10	**Jiu Tang shu sheng xiu chuan** (A Complete Religious Commentary to the Stories of the Ancient Tang)	Before mid 10th c.	舊唐書
11	**Zutang ji** (Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall)	952	祖堂集
12	**Song gaoseng zhuan** (Song Biographies of Eminent Monks) in the True School)	988	宋高僧傳
13	**Jingde chuandeng lu** (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp)	1004	景德傳燈錄
14	**Chuanfa zhengzong ji** (Transmission of the Law and the Correct teaching)	1061	傳法正宗記
15	**Biyan lu** (The Record of the Emerald Cliff) (Jp. Hekiganroku)	1125	碧巖錄
16	**Wujia zhengzong zan** (Eulogies from the Five Houses in the True School)	1154	五家正宗贊
17	**Shi shi tongjian** (Comprehensive Readings on the Śākya Clan)	1270	釋氏通鑑

TABLE OF THE LEGEND

EPISODES	NUMBER OF SOURCES																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Audience with Liang Wudi				X		X									X		
Sat "facing the wall"												X	X	X		X	
Huike cutting off his arm			X		X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X			
Number of disciples		2	2		2		3	4	1								
Anxin-exchange											X		X	X	X		
"Flesh, bones, marrow" story							X	X			X		X	X			
Robe given to Huike						X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X			
Bowl given to Huike												X		X			
Transmitting the Laṅkavatāra sūtra		X	X		X			X					X	X			
Six Chinese patriarchs					X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X			
Poisoning of Bodhidharma			X				X	X		X	X		X	X			
Return to India			X				X	X		X	X		X	X			
"One shoe" story							X	X		X	X		X	X			
"Directly pointing to the human's mind"													X				
Bodhidharma broke off a reed																X	X
Bodhidharma as the avatar of Bodhisattva Avalokitēśvara															X		

(Compiled by Beatrix Mecsi with the help of Lachman 1993:268)

SOURCES

1 Luoyang qielan ji (Record of the Buddhist Monasteries of Luoyang)

Author: Yang Xuan chi
Date: 547
Provenance: China
Special feature: Bodhidharma as a very old Central Asian monk coming from a deserted area.

The *Luoyang qielan ji* (Record of the Buddhist Monasteries of Luoyang) written by Yang Xuan chi in 547 speaks about Bodhidharma as a very old Central Asian monk who spent several days singing in praise of the great stūpa in the Yun ning monastery.[1] As the text follows:

"The Temple of the Adorned Brahma has the diamond, the turtle-doves and the pigeons which do not go out, the birds and the sparrows which do not roost. Bodhidharma said: Endeavour to obtain the very appearance."

And in an other place:

"The temple of the Perfect Peace was built in the first year of the period Hsi p'ing (516) by the mother of the emperor of Hu family...Then, there came from the Western Region the śrāmana Bodhidharma, a barbarian of the region of the Po ssŭ (i.e. Persians), who, from the barbarian tribes began to come and to pass rapidly through China; one saw a golden plate blazing in the sun and beams illuminating the outer parts of the clouds, a precious bell containing the wind and a noise coming from beyond the sky, - hymns and songs, praises and sighs are really spiritual merits- and he himself said: (I am) 150 years (old). Succesively I have passed through reigns which extend everywhere, but a temple so beautiful and fine India has not. And the worlds of Buddha also have not indeed. His mouth repeated: 'Namah' and he joined his hands for days consecutively."[2]

In the translation of W.J.F. Jenner the second passage follows:

"In those days there was a monk from the West called Bodhidharma, a Persian, who had come to the central lands from remote and desolate parts. When he saw the golden discs reflecting the sunlight beyond the clouds and heard the bells in the wind sending their chimes up to the sky he chanted a eulogy and sighed with admiration for what was indeed a divine construction. "In my 150 years," he said," I have been everywhere and travelled in many countries, but a temple of this beauty cannot be found anywhere else in the continent of Jambudvīpa and all the lands of Buddha." He held his hands together and chanted "namah" for several days on end."[3]

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1 Yang Xuan chi: *Luoyang qielan ji* 547 (T.51,2092, 999-1022)
Trans. Wang Yi: *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries of Loyang by Yang Hsüan-chih* Princeton: Princeton University Press 1984

2 Hu Shih: *Wen Cun,* Taibei: 1994: 137-147; Lanciotti 1949:141

Reference: T. 51, 2092, pp. 999-1022
Transl. W.J.F. Jenner: *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493-534)*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981:151
Wang Yi: *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries of Loyang by Yang Hsüan-chih* Princeton: Princeton University Press 1984
Hu Shih: *Wen Cun,* Taibei: 1994: 137-147
Lanciotti Lionello: "New Historic Contribution to the Person of Bodhidharma", *Artibus Asiae*, 12: 1 / 2 (1949): 141-144

2 Xu gaoseng zhuan (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks)

Author: Daoxuan (596-667)
Date: 645, revised 664
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Bodhidharma as a South Indian monk (T. 50. 2060, 551c)
- 'Wall-contemplation' as a method of meditation (T.50.2060, 596c)
- Huike (whom Bodhidharma transmitted the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra), (T50, 2060, 552b)
- This source attributes Huike's loss of limb to an encounter with bandits

The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks) written by Daoxuan (596-667) contains the oldest text attributed to Bodhidharma, *Erru sixing lun* (Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices) what was probably written by Tanlin.[4]
According to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* Bodhidharma was a South Indian monk who came to China during the Liu Song dynasty (420-479), from where he went to the north to the state of Wei (386-535). He taught meditation there, transmitted the Lankavatāra sūtra in four volumes and aquired two disciples, Daoyu and Huike. The text also emphasises Bodhidharma's age as over 150 years.[5]
In *Xu gaoseng zhuan* we can read that the wall-gazing contemplation practice he introduced to China was much different and more difficult to understand than the classical Indian *dhyāna* prevalent in Northern China.[6] It was the reason why he attracted only a few followers, among them Huike, who later became the second Chan patriarch and to whom Bodhidharma transmitted a Buddhist scripture, namely the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, as the essence of his teachings.[7] Therefore the Chan school was first known as the Laṅkāvatāra-school.[8]

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3 Jenner 1981: 151

4 Stein manuscript no.5619 from Dunhuang (T.85, 2831,1269a-) More about this text see Faure 1986/1, Jarand 1987 and about the apocryphal nature of the text: Sekiguchi 1957

5 Lachman 1993: 243

6 T.50,2060,596c

7 T.50,2060,552b

In the same text, Bodhidharma is contrasted with the dhyāna master Seng chou, whose meditation method was quite popular at that time:

"Thus, when we look at these two tenets (of Seng-ch'ou and Bodhidharma, it is clear that) they are like the two wheels of the same chart. (Seng-)ch'ou embraced the (practice called) the 'foundations of mindfulness', a model of purity to be venerated. Bodhidharma relied on the teaching of emptiness, whose purport is obscure and deep. Due to this fact, his principle was intrinsically difficult to comprehend, while Seng-ch'ou's model was easily accessible."[9]

This kind of contrast-making between the two is very similar of the famous opposition between the so-called founders of the Northern and Southern Schools of Chan Buddhism, Shenxiu and Huineng.[10] It is a common hagiographical method to exaggerate the contrast between the two persons, and from this contrast the 'winner' is usually established as a founder of a religious order.

This text also mentions a poem ascribed to Huike, which reports Bodhidharma's teachings, which poem underlies the direct Self-realization: "Pitying those who follow the crowd of Two-seers."[11]

References: T. 50.2060, 551-596 (chapter about the Dhyāna practitioners)
Yampolsky 1983: 3-6; Suzuki 1927: 376-377; Lanciotti 1949: 142; Lachman 1993: 243

3 **Chuan fabao ji** (Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Jewel)

Author: Tu Fei (personal name: Fang-ming)

No biographical information is available about him, but he is mentioned as the 'Dharma master Fei' in an inscription by en Tingzhi, Tazhi chanshi beiming bingxu, Quan Tangwen, q.280 (VI, 3596) (reduced size edition in 20 vols., Taibei, 1960)[12]

Kanda suggests that he may have been a monk who returned to lay life later, adopting the patronym Tu.[13]

Date: Undated, but the last Chan patriarch discussed is Shenxiu who died in 706. So it may be assumed that the work was completed not so long after his death as his successor is not mentioned.[14]

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8 About the connection of Chan with the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, see: Yampolsky 1983: 3-6

9 T.50,2060,596c

10 Yampolsky 1967: 130-132

11 T. 50, 2060, 552. It refers to those who do not yet comprehend non-duality and distinguish between self and others.

12 Yampolsky 1967: 5-6, note 6

13 Kanda Kiichirō: "Dembō hōki no kanchitsu ni tsuite" [About the compilation of the Chuan fabao ji] *Sekisue sensei kakōju ki'nen ronsan*, Tokyo, 1942:152
Kanda Kiichirō discovered a complete copy of this work and is reproduced in facsimile in the above mentioned article, pp. 145-152, with 7 plates. This was later reproduced in a printed form in Shiraishi Hōru (Kogetsu), *Zoku Zenshū hennen shi*, Yawatahama (Ehime Prefecture), 1943: 972-977
Its number in the Pelliot collection is P3559. A fragment of the same work, consisting primarily of the preface is found in T. 85, p. 1291 (P2634).
For a discussion of the work see Yanagida Seizan: "Denbō hōki to sono sakusha" [The Chuan fabao ji and its Author], *Zengaku Kenkyū*, no. 53 (July, 1963): 45-71 (Yampolsky 1967: 5)

14 Yampolsky 1967: 5, note 5

Provenance: China
Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Bodhidharma arrived during the Wei dynasty
- Bodhidharma went to the Shaolin monastery
- Huike's self-mutilation
- Two disciples of Bodhidharma
- Transmitted the Lankāvatāra sūtra
- Attempts for poisoning Bodhidharma while he was staying at Shaolin monastery
- Bodhidharma's return to India
- Wei envoy Song Yun returning from China to India, claimed to have passed Bodhidharma going opposite way in the Pamir Mountains. As a consequence of this report, Bodhidharma's tomb was opened and true to Song Yun's word, found empty.

The *Chuan fabao ji* is a brief work, which contains a short preface and then presents the short biographies of the patriarchs in China. Reference and quotations from the Lankāvatāra sūtra shows that its teachings were based on that work. In the preface we can find the first attempt to connect the Chinese Chan masters to the Indian Patriarchs. The authority for referring that is the *Damoduolo chanjing* which mentions several Indian Patriarchs. This sūtra is often quoted in later Zen histories to prove the legitimacy of the Zen tradition. At this time the Tiantai school had an established lineage tracing back their history to the Śākyamuni Buddha and holding that the teachings had been handed down from patriarch to patriarch until Simha bhiksu, the twenty-fourth, who was killed during the persecution of Buddhism, after which time the transmission was cut off.[15] But the Zen school insisted that the transmission in fact was not cut off, but Simha bhiksu before his death, had passed his teachings to a disciple. [16]

The compiler of the *Chuan fabao ji* indicates that a variety of legends existed at that time about the early Chan patriarchs. After he mentions in the preface the Indian patriarchs, he presents the short biographies of seven patriarchs: Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, Faru and Shenxiu. This text, unlike later compilations, does not assign numerical designations to these masters, and does not refer them explicitly as Patriarchs, although it mentions a successive transmission of the teaching.

About Bodhidharma this document records that he was a Brahman from Southern India, and came to China to teach Buddhism. At Songshan[17] he acquired two disciples Daoyu and Huike, from whom the latter stayed with the master for four or five years and received the teachings of the Lankāvatāra sūtra. Then we can find in the text a brief mention of Huike cutting off his left arm to attest to the earnestness with which he sought the teachings, and adds the note denying the allegation that Huike's arm had been cut off by bandits.[18]

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15 Yamplsky 1967: 5-6

16 Yampolsky 1967:6

17 This mountain is located near Luoyang and long has been associated with Chan masters of the Northern lineage and acquired royal patronage. The names of the famous priests lived here are found in Peicui, Shaolinsi bei Tingchi, *Tazhi chanshi beiming bingxu*, Quan Tangwen, (reduced size edition in 20 vols., Taibei, 1960) q.279 (VI.3584-3587)

In a note to his own text, Tu Fei mentions Bodhidharma's teaching of wall-gazing and the four practices of conduct[19], and comments it as these are only temporary and provisional teachings and by no means to be considered first-rate treatises.

The text also mentions the several attempts to poison Bodhidharma by his rivals, but these attempts were unsuccessful because Bodhidharma was immune to harm, but finally he did eat poison and died, and at that time he claimed himself to be 150 years old.

Even though Tu Fei claims the rejection of the legendary material tells the story that on the day when Bodhidharma died, Song Yun a lay official of the Northern Wei[20] on his way back to China met Bodhidharma who was returning to India, in the Pamir Mountains. When he asked what was to happen to his school in the future, Bodhidharma replied that after forty years a native Chinese would appear to spread his teachings. When Song Yun returned to China he told Bodhidharma's disciples about his interview. As a consequence of this report, Bodhidharma's tomb was opened and true to Song Yun's word, found empty.[21]

When discussing Huike this account says that his name was Sengke, but sometimes he was called Huike and he was from the Chi family, a native of Wu-lao.[22] And he was said to be originally a scholar of Confucianism and an authority on various secular works, but he later became a Buddhist monk. He met Bodhidharma at the age of forty, practiced the Way for six years, and to show his intent to be taught by the Indian Master, he cut off his left arm, betraying no sign of emotion or pain. Huike was finally accepted as a disciple and after Bodhidharma returned to the West, he stayed at the Shaolin monastery at Songshan, where he was teaching. During the Tianping period (534-537) of the Northern Wei Dynasty he went to the capital at Ye, where he continued preaching with success, gained many convents. In his case, as with Bodhidharma, several attempts were made to poison him, but all these attempts were unsuccessful. He appointed Sengcan to his successor and transmitted to him the Lankāvatāra sūtra, predicting that after four generations the sūtra would change and become no more than an empty name.[23]

Differences between this text and the Xu gaoseng zhuan are the following:

In the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* we can read about Huike's enemy, Daoheng, who attempted to destroy him. (vividly described in T.50, p.552a), while in the *Chuan fabao ji* it is only briefly referred to.

And while in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* Huike didn't leave any heirs, the *Chuan fabao ji* states specifically that he transmitted his teachings to Sengcan, the third patriarch, so we have no evidence of the patriarchal tradition before the *Chan fabao ji.*

References:

Pelliot collection, number: P3559. A fragment of the same work, consisting primarily of the preface is found in T.85, p. 1291 (P2634).

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18 T.50. 552b

19 Reference to the text *Erru sixing lun* (Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices) originally attributed to Bodhidharma.

20 He was sent by the empress dowager in search for Buddhist works. His travel record has been translated by Samual Beal, *Travels of Fa-hsian and Sung-yun:Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India,* London, 1869 (Yampolsky 1967:10 note 13)

21 This story appears in a more detailed and elaborated form in *Zutang ji* I.76, dated 952 and in the Jingde Chuan Deng Lu T.51, p. 220b dated 1004.

22 The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* gives Hu-lao.

23 Yampolsky 1967: 11

4 **Chuan fa ji** (Record of the Transmission of the Dharma)

Author: Unknown
Date: 713
Provenance: China (But only survived in a Japanese work)
Special feature:
Bodhidharma's ecounter with the Emperor Wu of Liang mentioned for the first time.

The *Chuan fa ji* which was written around 713, mentions for the first time Bodhidharma's ecounter with the Emperor Wu of Liang. This source unfortunately did not survive to our time, but the Japanese monk Saichō (767-822)[24] in the preface of the *Zheng xue mo pu,* quoted this work.

References: Hu-Shih 1953/a :299-302; Hu Shih 1994:137-147

5 **Lengjia shizi ji** (Annals of the Successive masters of the Lańka)

Author: Jingjue (683-?), compiler Xuanzi, a disciple of Hongren[25]
Date: Traditionally the date for composing the *Lengjia shizi ji* is given as 730, however Prof. Tim Barrett showed that the text must have written some time between 712 and 716.[26]
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:
- Bodhidharma as the founder of the Chan school, but as the second patriarch
- Two disciples of Bodhidharma
- Transmitted the Lankavatāra sūtra

References: T.85.2837,1283-90;
Barrett 1991: 255-259; Yampolsky 1967: 16-23 Faure 1989:60; Pelliot 1923: 262-264; Faure 1993: 133; Faure 1993:133, Shinohara Hisao "Ryōga Shiji ki Kōchū" *Uchino Tairei sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Tokyo, 1954:132-164; Miklós 1996: 123-133

In the *Lenjia Shizi ji* (Annals of the Successive masters of the Lańka), written by Jingjue (683-?) we can read about Bodhidharma as the founder of the school, and it names Guṇabhadra as the master of Bodhidharma.[27]

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[24] Saichō went to China and he was the one who introduced Tiantai (Jp. Tendai, Kor. Jeondae) Buddhism to Japan in 788. He brought many Buddhist books to Japan and together with his disciples he composed the *Nei zheng fo,* the *Fa xiang* and the *Zheng xue mo pu.*

[25] Yamposky 1967: 16

[26] Barrett 1991: 255-259

[27] T.85,2837, 1284c. The Lengjia shizi ji tells little about Gunabhadra (394-468) (for his biography see *Gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, p.344a-346b) He was said to be a Central Indian priest who arrived to Canton during the Yuanjia era (425-453), and was welcomed by the emperor, and soon he undertook the translation of the Lankavatāra sūtra. Gunabhadra was associated with the Baolin temple, where Huineng was dwelling later, and later texts attribute to him a prediction in which he foretells the

Guṇabhadra was the first translator of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, so no wonder that the sources connects Bodhidharma with this sūtra, which was already known from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* dated 645 that Bodhidharma transmitted to Huike,[28] but in the later Laṅkāvatāra tradition the relationship will be inverted and Bodhidharma became the master of Guṇabhadra.[29]
It is also interesting to note here how Bodhidharma was connected to the Shaolin monastery. We know that this monastery was built by the emperor Xiao Wen of the Northern Wei for a Central Asian monk named Fotuo or Batuo (the Chinese transcription of Buddha or Bhadra)[30]. But only much later when the Northern school of Chan Buddhism established itself in Song shan, Bodhidharma's name started to be associated with the Shaolin monastery and a kind of martial art called Shaolin gongfu [kung-fu].[31]
The *Lenjia shizi ji* is the first work to give numerical designations to the patriarchs, listing eight of them:[32]

1. Guṇabhadra
2. Bodhidharma
3. Huike
4. Sengcan
5 Taoxin
6 Hongren
7 Shenxiu
8 Puji

The *Lenjia shizi ji* included the text *Erru sixing lun* of Bodhidharma's teachings, but described as having been compiled by his disciple, Tanlin.[33]
We are also informed by this text that Bodhidharma made a commentary on the Lankāvatāra sūtra,the *Lengjia yaoyi*, which text is known as *Damolun*.[34]

6 Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun

(On Establishing the True and False About the Southern School of Bodhidharma)

Author: Dugu Pei
Date: 732
Provenance: China
Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Shenhui's attack on the Northern Chan lineage
- Legendary meeting between Bodhidharma and Liang Wudi (r. 502-550)

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arrival of the 6th patriarch. Gunabhadra translated many texts, but there is no indication that he put a special emphasis to the Lankāvatāra sūtra. And there is also no evidence or affirmation of the fact that he ever met Bodhidharma. (Hu-Shih 1953/a) (Yampolsky 1967:20-21and note 55)

28 T.50, p.552b

29 Faure 1989:60

30 Pelliot 1923: 262-264, in: Faure 1993: 133

31 Faure 1993:133

32 An identical list, unnumbered, is given in the preface to Jingjue's commentary on the Heart Sūtra. See: Chikusa Masaaki "Jōkaku katchū 'Hannya haramita shigyō' ni tsuite" *Bukkyō shigaku*, VII (no.3, October, 1958): 65 (Yampolsky 1967:20, note 49)

33 His biography unknown (Yampolsky 1967: 21).

34 This may be the same work as the Dunhuang text known as *Damo chanshi lun*, published by Sekiguchi Shindai: *Daruma daishi kenkyū,* Tokyo, 1957:445-450 (Yampolsky 1967:21)

- Bodhidharma went to Shaolin monastery.
- Huike cutting off his left arm
- mentioning the robe which was passed from generation to generation as a sign of the patriarchate
- Six Chinese Patriarchs

This text was discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts in Paris and identified by Hu-Shih (Hu-Shih: *Shen-hui ho-shang I-chi.* Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1930).
This work tells the details of Shen-hui's (684-758) attack on the Northern Chan lineage, which traced itself through Shenxiu (606-706).[35] It contains the oldest extant reference to the legendary audience between Liang Wudi and Bodhidharma, and to their exchange concerning pious merit. It mentions the robe which was passed from generation to generation as a sign of the patriarchate.

References:
Translated by Jacques Gernet, *Entretiens du Maître de Dhyāna Chen-houei du Ho-tsö* (686-770), Hanoi: Publications de L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1949:81-91.

7 **Lidai fabao ji** (Historical Record of the Dharma Jewel of the Successive Generations)

Author: an unknown author of the Wuzhu school
Date: ca. 774
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Meeting with Liang Wudi
- Bodhidharma went to Shaolin monastery
- Huike cutting off his arm
- Three disciples of Bodhidharma, whom Bodhidharma called together and speaking about grasping his 'flesh', 'bones', and his 'marrow' by them.
- Robe given to Huike
- Six Chinese patriarchs
- Bodhiruci's attempt to poison Bodhidharma
- Bodhidharma's return to India
- one shoe-story

The *Lidaii fabao ji* (Historical Record of the Dharma Jewel of the Successive Generations) was written by an unknown author of the Wuzhu school for the Temple Baotang around 774.[36]
This source is the second surviving reference to Bodhidharma's meeting with the emperor Liang Wudi. In this text we can find a passage about his death through poison. According to this text,

[35] McRae 1986

[36] More about this text, see: Yanagida 1983

Bodhiruci (d.527), and another monk, Guangtong (in other name Huiguang, 468-537), jealous of Bodhidharma's fame, tried to poison him several times, and finally they succeeded.[37]
We know about Bodhiruci, that he, as Guṇabhadra, was an other translator of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra which was said to be transmitted by Bodhidharma to his first disciple, Huike. And as we often find the shortened or truncated versions of Bodhidharma's name like Bodhi or more commonly, as Dharma (Damo, in Chinese), he might be easily confused with other persons, as in the first case, with Bodhiruci, one of his rivals. The reason why these two personality could be mixed is their connection with the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra.
The *Lengjia shizi ji* severely taken to task for its assertion that Guṇabhadra was Bodhidharma's teacher. (T.51, p.180b)
Where Shenhui arbitrary changed the name of Dharmatrāta to Bodhidharma, the *Lidai fabao ji* has been fit to combine the two names, coming up with Bodhidharmatrāta.[38]

References: T.51.2075: 179-196;
Yanagida 1983: 13-49; Lanciotti 1949:143

8 **Baolin zhuan** (Transmission of the 'Jewel Grove')

Author: Zhiju (var. Huiju)
Date: 801
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Audience with Liang Wudi
- Bodhidharma went to the Shaolin monastery
- Huike's cutting off his arm
- Four disciples of Bodhidharma
- 'Flesh-bones-marrow' story
- robe given to Huike
- transmitting the Lankavatāra sūtra
- Six Chinese Patriarchs
- Poisoning of Bodhidharma
- Bodhidharma's return to India
- One shoe incident

The Baolin temple was associated to Gunabhadra, where Huineng made his home, and later texts attribute to him a prediction in which he foretells the arrival of the sixth patriarch.[39]
References: Tokiwa 1973; Yanagida 1975; Yampolsky 1967:20; Lachman 1993: 237-268

[37] T.51,2075,180c

[38] Yampolsky 1967: 40

[39] Yampolsky 1967: 20

9 Liuzu tan jing (The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch)

Date: Traditionally dated to ca. 830, but Prof. Tim Barrett dates it earlier, to ca. 800.[40]
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Audience with Liang Wudi
- Bodhidharma had only one disciple mentioned in the text
- Robe given to Huike
- Six Chinese patriarchs

The text refers to a Bodhidharma-representation:
"In this corridor they intended to present paintings of stories from the Lankavatāra sūtra, together with paintings of the emnent patriarchs transmitting the robe and the dharma, so that they might remain as a remembrance for later generatons."[41]

References: Yampolsky 1967; Lachman 1993: 237-268

10 Jiu Tang shu sheng xiu chuan

(A Complete Religious Commentary to the Stories of the Ancient Tang)

Author: compiled by Liu Xu (died in the middle of the 10th century)
Date: Before the middle of the 10th century
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Bodhidharma's death from poison
- Sandal-story

The *Jiu Tang shu sheng xiu chuan* (A Complete Religious Commentary to the Stories of the Ancient Tang), compiled by Liu Xu (died in the middle of the 10th century)[42] also mentions Bodhidharma's death as he died from poison. This source tells us the story of Song Yun, who was equal in age with Bodhidharma and was a historian of Wei, when coming back from Cong ling, met Bodhidharma going towards India. It was in the same year of Bodhidharma's death. It says that at the opening of Bodhidharma's tomb they found his clothes and sandals, but it did not mention the sandals before that.[43]

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40 Information acquired from Prof. Tim Barrett on 1st July 2003 at SOAS.

41 Yampolsky 1967:128-129

42 Pelliot 1923:225 (41) and note 1. (Chapin 1945-46:68) notes a typographical error, chao for xu occurs). This account on Bodhidharma , which Pelliot translated (Qiu Dang shu , juan 191) occurs in the biography of Shen xiu [Shen-hsiu], a student of the Fifth Patriarch. See Chapin, 1945-46: 89-92.

43 Pelliot 1923: 255 (41), note 1. (Chapin 1945-46:71, note 24)

The texts writes about Bodhidharma as a prince from India, who in order to protect his country with merit, became a monk. He went to the Southern seas and attained the wonderful dharma of the Chan lineage. It is said that it has been handed down by Śākyamuni Buddha together with the bowl and robe which has been transmitted from age to age. He travelled by sea to Liang where he went to see Emperor Wu. Here, after their meeting Bodhidharma was not pleased , so he went away to Songshan, to the Shaolin monastery. He died from poison. After his death Song Yun coming back from India saw him on the way with one shoe. Later after opening Bodhidharma's tomb, there they found only a robe and the pair of the sandal.[44]
The text also mentions Huike, who cut off his arm.

References: Pelliot 1923:225 (41); Chapin 1945-46, 68-71

11 **Zutang ji** [Kor. Jodangjip] (Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall)

Date: 952
Provenance: China (though the text reflects the teachings of the Korean master Sunji, 829-893)[45]

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Audience with Liang Wudi
- Bodhidharma went to Shaolin monastery 'secretly went to the Northern shore of the river'.
- 'anxin'-dialogue. (Huike asked Bodhidharma to calm down his mind. Bodhidharma told him 'give me your mind, and I will calm it down.' After that dialogue Huike attained enlightenment.
- Huike cutting off his arm
- 4 disciples of Bodhidharma is mentioned
- flesh, bones, marrow' story
- robe given to Huike
- Six Chinese Patriarchs
- Poisoning of Bodhidharma
- Returning to India
- One sandal-story, a more elaborated version

The *Zutang ji* (Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall), written in 952[46] was the earliest record of the legitimate transmission line in Chan Buddhism.

References: Shimizu 1985: 78; Sekiguchi 1967: 205-210, Gansong 2002 Vol. 62:172-173; Miklós 1996: 136-137

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44 Translation from the original Chinese text with the help of Prof. Tim Barrett.

45 Sørensen 1991: 207-233

46 Or in 953, according to Yoshiaki Shimizu (Shimizu 1985: 78).

12 **Song gaoseng zhuan** (Song Biographies of Eminent Monks)

Date: 988
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Audience with Liang Wudi
- went to the Shaolin monastery
- **Sitting facing the wall (appeared for the first time in the written sources)**
- Huike cutting off his arm
- Only one disciple of Bodhidharmais mentioned
- Robe given to Huike
- **Bowl given to Huike (appeared for the first time in the written sources)**
- Six Chinese patriarchs
- Bodhidharma's return to India

The text doesn't include the episode about calming down the mind of Huike, though previous sources and later sources usually contain the episode. The 'flesh-bones-marrow' story is also not included as well as the poisoning of Bodhidharma. And though the text mentions Bodhidharma's return to India, doesn't speak about his shoes, which usually accompanies the episode.

References: T.51. 2061; Lachman 1993

13 **Jingde chuandeng lu** (Record of the Transmission of the Flame)

Author: Daoyuan
Dated: 1004
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Bodhidharma's meeting with the Emperor Liang Wu (T.51.2076, 219a)
- Bodhidharma went to the Shaolin monastery
- Bodhidharma's sitting 'facing the wall'. Incident on Songshan (ascetism)
- 'Anxin' conversation with Huike
- Huike's cutting off his arm
- four disciples of Bodhidharma
- Grasping of the teaching (flesh, bones, marrow story) T.51,2076, 196-467
- robe given to Huike (but not mentioning the bowl, even though it is present in the previously compiled Zutang ji, dated 952)
- Bodhidharma transmitted the Lankavatāra sūtra
- Six Chinese patriarchs
- Poisoning of Bodhidharma
- Bodhidharma's return to India

- sandal-story (T.51.2076.220b) see: P'u-hui ta-t'sang-ching k'an-hsing-hui edition, Taipei, 1967
- **"Directly pointing to human's mind" (appeared for the first time in the written sources)**

Chapin notes (1945-46: 68-69) following Pelliot's observation (1923:254 (40)) that this source was revised with a view making it accord better with the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* , compiled in 1061.
About Bodhidharma's wall-meditation the text says:
"He stopped at the Shaolin temple at Mount Song. [There], facing the wall, he sat down. He remained utterly silent from one day to the next, and no one could fathom his behaviour. He was called the 'wall-gazing Brahmin'.[47] According to this source Huike was an upright, liberal person, who was 'fully acquainted with Confucian and Daoist literature but always dissatisfied with their teachings because they appeared to him not quite thoroughgoing.'[48]

References: T.51,2076, 196-467; Chapin 1945-46: 68-69; Pelliot 1923:254 (40); Dumoulin 1951:67-83; Fontein-Hickman 1970: 130-136; Lachman 1993

14 Chuanfa zhengzong ji (Transmission of the Law and the Correct teaching in the True School)

Author: Fori Qisong (1007-1072)
Date: 1061
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Bodhidharma as the third son of a king
- the teaching transmitted to Bodhidharma derived ultimately from the Bodhisattva **Avalokiteśvara.** (therefore Bodhidharma used to referred to as the avatar of Avalokiteśvara.)
- Meeting with Liang Wudi
- crossing the Yangzi (but no mention of the reed)
- wall-meditation in Shaolin temple ('wall-contemplating Brahmin')
- Huike is waiting in the **snow** for Bodhidharma's attention
- Huike's cutting off his arm
- "anxin" conversation
- Bodhidharma had four disciples mentioned
- Grasping the teaching ('flesh, bones, marrow' story)
- robe given to Huike
- bowl given to Huike
- transmitting of the Lankavatāra sūtra
- Six Chinese patriarchs
- Poisoning of Bodhidharma

[47] Translation from Fontain-Hickman 1970: 130-136

[48] Translation by Suzuki (Fontein-Hickman 1970:130-136)

- Bodhidharma's return to India
- sandal-story

The *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* was written by the Chan priest Fori Qisong (1007-1072), published in 1061, in that time when the Chan Buddhist School became so powerful that it was regarded as the only orthodox form of Buddhism in China.[49] It contains most of the elements already present in a short form in the *Jiu Tang shu,* but in the case of *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* the story became more established and very important for the school as an acceptable reference to the life of their founder.

According to this text, Bodhidharma was the third son of a king in South India.[50] Then he was ordained by Prajñātārā,[51] the 27th Patriarch in the list (where his biography precedes Bodhidharma's), who transmitted to him the Doctrine and the insignia of the Patriarchate, and he gave him a new name. So he was then named Bodhidharma from his former name Bodhitārā and he was also known as Dharmatrāta.[52] It was said also, that the teaching transmitted to him derived ultimately from the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.[53] Sixty-seven years after the death of Prajñātārā, Bodhidharma went to China, following the instructions of his master.

Bodhidharma arrived in Canton on "the 21st day of the 9th month (sic) of the first year of Pu dong of Wudi of Liang (520) or, as some say, Pu dong, the 8th year (527)..."[54] He was summoned to the court of the royal patron of Buddhism, emperor Liang Wu, to Jian ye (Nanking). As the athmosphere in Liang was not congenial for him, he crossed the river (Yangzi jiang) to the Kingdom of Northern Wei. (It is important, that here there is no mention of the the reed instrument, which was only introduced later to the Bodhidharma-story.) Here he settled in the Shaolin Temple on Mt.Song (Honan), where 'he silently sat all day facing a wall'. People did not understand his intentions, and therefore "one year later, mentions that, because of his peculiar way of meditation, people called Bodhidharma the 'wall-contemplating Brahman'".[55]

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49 Many temples became to know as Chan si or Chan lin, in reality they carried on worships and rituals what they practiced before (Chapin 1945-46: 69).

50 Referring Bodhidharma as a prince and thus connecting him with the historical Buddha Śakyamuni probably served as a strong claim to the Chan school to be regarded as the ancient and original Buddhism in India.

51 In Chinese: Ban ruo tuo luo , cf. BD: 4262a

52 The Gāndhāran monk of the Sarvastivādin School, Dharmatrāta has been called in Chinese Ta-mo-to-lo (BD: 3543). Bodhidharma has to distinguished from him. Threfore the BD gives Fa-jiao 'Law-teaching' as a translation of the Sanskrit Dharmatrāta. The Sanskrit –tāra has several meaning, one of which is yan, 'eye' (BD: 3537). It also has been rendered to the Chinese duo-luo. Therefore, the names of Prajñātāra can be translated as the 'Eye of Wisdom', while the name of Dharmatāra can be the equivalent of the 'Eye of Law (or the Doctrine)' About the names see Chapin 1945-46:69 (note 14a). There is a custom also according to which the Buddhist disciples frequently take one syllable of their teacher's religious name. Chapin (1945-46:69, note15) notes that both Bodhitāra and Dharmatāra contain one syllable of Prajñātāra's name.

53 Therefore Bodhidharma is referred later to as the avatar of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Avalokiteśvara was the epitome of compassion. About Bodhidharma it was recorded that once he said that 'he desired to benefit beings by means of the Doctrine.'

54 Chapin suggests that the second date was introduced probably after the death of the compilator, Qisong i.e. after 1072 (Chapin 1945-46: 69, note 17)

55 But if Bodhidharma was considered as a prince, he must have been a kśatriya, and not a brahmin. Even in the same account he is definitely called kśatriya (cha di li) (T.51,2078, 738a)

But we can read in the same source the passage that Huike met Bodhidharma who 'was travelling around conversing (people) in Sung (shan) and Lo(yang).'[56]

The story of Huike follows, the śramana (monk) Shenguang ('Divine Light'), who heard about Bodhidharma and decided to learn from him. However, Bodhidharma did not tend to be gracious, and he was waiting outside the Master's room all night, when the falling snow reached his knees.[57] Bodhidharma still was not willing to grant his request. When Shenguang heard the refusal, he cut off his left arm and placed it before Bodhidharma. Then Bodhidharma finally started to speak to him, and after their conversation Shenguang [Shen-kuang] got enlightenment (Ch. *wu,* Kor. *o*, Jp. s*atori*), and Bodhidharma changed his name from Shen guang to Huike ('Wisdom-sufficent'), and recommended him to read the Lankāvatāra sūtra[58] as a useful instrument for the enlightenment of others. In this account there are several other disciples of Bodhidharma named such as Dao-yu and the nun Zongchi, but Huike was the one who inherited the Patriarchate from Bodhidharma, with the robe and bowl that he had brought from India.[59]

This source also did not finish the story with Bodhidharma's death which occured at the age of 150 or 160 and speaks about the Buddhist pilgrim Song Yun[60] who, when he was crossing the Cong ling ('Onion') Range on his way back to China from India, met Bodhidharma going in the opposite direction, and noticed that he had only one sandal. When he told this to the emperor Xiao chuang di of Northern Wei, he opened Bodhidharma's tomb and found there the other sandal.[61]

References: T.51.2078, 715-768; Chapin 1945-46

The earlier sources, however named him as a South Indian Brahmin, not a son of a king. (see e.g. *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 645. (Chapin 1945-46:70, note 28) (Werner 1932)

56 T.51, 2078,780

57 Later accounts are telling that Huike was waiting three days and three nights in the snow. In Japan, it is still a custom for applicants before admission to a monastery to sit all night outside the gate (Suzuki 1934).

58 The importance of the Lankāvatāra sūtra in Bodhidharma's life-story appears in other sources e.g. in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, the *Lengqie shizi ji.* I have already pointed out the contradiction the stressing of the importance of a sūtra and the 'classical' Chan tradition of detach oneself from words and letters (i.e. the importance of the sūtras).

59 The transmission of the robe of Bodhidharma had a meaningful importance, and for example in the book called *Fabao ji,* ca.774, which was written to champion the teachings of the Chan school in Szechuan, the centre of the Sino-Tibetan struggles. Their aim was to emphasise the sudden-enlightenment tradition of the Southern Chan school, and to refute the Lankāvatāra-lineage and deny the connection between Gunabhadra and Bodhidharma. It accepted the Shenhui's version of transmission, and Huineng as the sixth patriarch, but invented an elaborate story to prove that Bodhidharma's robe was in his posession. It says as Chi xian, the first patriarch of the school, had been given the robe by Empress Wu, who had previously requested the robe of the Sixth patriarch. Chi xian (609-702), handed the robe to his heir Zhu chi (669-732), known also as Tang he shang , or the priest Tang. Zhu chi handed down the robe and the teaching to Wu-hsiang (684-762), better known as Jin he shang, who was a native of Shilla (Korean Kingdom). Wu-hsiang handed the teaching and the robe to Wu zhu (Yampolsky 1983:6-7).

60 T.51,2078,743

61 The Jiu tang shu puts the meeting in the same year of Bodhidharma's death. (juan 191), cf. Pelliot 1923: 255 (41),note 1., It also omits mention of the sandals until the opening of the tomb, in which were found Bodhidharma's cloths and sandals. (Chapin 1945-46: 71, note 24)

15 **Biyan lu** (The Record of the Emerald Cliff) (Jp. Hekiganroku)

Author: Compiled by Xuedou Chongxian (980-1052)
Date: First printed in 1125
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography mentioned:

- Meeting with Liang Wudi
- Bodhidharma as the incarnation of Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara.
- An-shin dialogue
- Huike waiting in the snow.
- In a commentary by Foguo Yuanwu: about the crossing on a reed.
- In a commentary by Foguo Yuanwu: Bodhidharma's missing front teeth.
- The canon master Bodhiruci and precept master Guangtong tried to poison Bodhidharma.
- Sandal-story

One of the most important classics of Chan Buddhism composed in China during the Song Dynasty (960-1276 CE) when Chan literature reached its peak of development. This famous kōan-collection gained widespread acceptance in the Chan circles and was first printed in 1125, and compiled by Xuedou Chongxian (980-1052), who illustrated the 100 excerpts from the ancient Chan lore with his poems, and elucidated in prose by the noted Chan teacher Yuanwu Keqin (1063-1135). The commentaries for the Biyan lu were written by Foguo Yuanwu, which starts with the case of Bodhidharma's meeting with the emperor Liang Wu[62], as the text follows : 'Since the emperor (Wu of Liang) was not agreeable, he (Bodhidharma) left the country. Feeling deeply mortified, this old man crossed the river and went to the kingdom of Wei. Later it was said that he had snapped a reed and crossed the water (on it). Perhaps this was not entirely accurate, but a form of praising him.'[63]
In this text we also find the connection of Bodhidharma with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, namely he was considered the avatar of Avalokiteśvara (Ch. Kuan-yin) while Fu Xi (497-569) was the avatar of Bodhisattva Maitreya (Ch. Mile).
And this is the text which describes Bodhidhrama with his two front teeth missing.[64]
Such books were to be discussed in front of the pupils, as it was used by Yuanwu Kequin (jp. Engo Kokugon) (1063-1135), but it was the Biyan lu [Pi-yen lu] which was burnt by Dahui Zonggao [Ta-hui Tsung-kao] (1089-1163) as a demonstrative act against the copious abundance

62 T.48,2003,140a

63 *Hekigan-shū teihon*, ed. by Itō Yūten, Tokyo:Risō-sha:, 1963, p.4. (Brinker, 1993)

64 T.48, 2003,167-168.; Maybe this comment was inspired by the visual representations rather than the visual representations followed this text and depicted him with the missing tooth.
The story about Bodhidharma's missing teeth is follows: Bodhidharma was preaching the dharma, having many followers. Sengguang (the future Huike) was asked a perplexing question by Bodhidharma what he could not answer, therefore he took it as a challenge of his faith by the evil, Māra, so he threw his rosary upon Bodhidharma and hit him by the front teeth. Bodhidharma's teeth were pull out, but Bodhidharma knew that as himself is a holy man, if his blood reach the territory, it becomes infertile for a long time. Therefore, he pitied the residents of that area, and swallowed his teeth. That is the reason why Bodhidarma has a broken teeth. (This story was told me by the Chinese monk Langcheng at SOAS in June 2003)

of Zen writings to emphasize Zen's freedom from dependence on scriptures. Fragments of this book were later collected to form the extant version, which can be regarded as a standard Song text of Zen ideas. [65]
The Biyan lu was first brought to Japan by the Zen master Dōgen Kigen (1200-1253) who is considered as the founder of the Sōtō school of Zen Buddhism. The Biyan l was subjected to intense scrunity by Japanese Zen students and came to be recognized in the Rinzai Zen schools as the foremost of Zen texts, one of the main sources used in the meditative study of Zen lore.[66]

References: T.48, 2003,167-168 (140a)
Hekigan-shū teihon, ed. by Itō Yūten, Tokyo: Risō-sha, 1963: 4 (Brinker 1993); *The Blue Cliff Record.* compiled by Ch'ung-hsien, commented upon by K'o-ch'in. Translated into English by Thomas Cleary. Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1998

16 **Wujia zhengzong zan** (Eulogies from the Five Houses in the True School)

Author: Xisou Shaotan (d.1279?)
Date: 1254
Provenance: China

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography:
- Bodhidharma 'broke off a reed'
- wall-contemplation

According to Prof. Helmut Brinker the first extant account referring to the reed appears in the *Wujia zhengzong zan* (Eulogies from the Five Houses in the True School), written by Xisou Shaotan (d.1279?).[67] However, this text does not say that Bodhidharma actually used the reed for crossing the river. As follows: "Bodhidharma 'broke off a reed, crossed the river, arrived at Shaolin(si), and faced a wall for nine years.'"[68]

References: Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, p. 214

17 **Shi shi tongjian** (Comprehensive Readings on the Śākya Clan)

Author: Ben Jue
Date: 1270
Provenance: China

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65 Brinker 1993

66 Numata 1998:1

67 The exact dates of Xisou Shaotan are not known. He was a disciple of Wuchun Shifan (1177-1249), and in turn taught the Japanese pilgrim monk Haku'un Egyō (1228-1298) at Ruiyansi in Taizhou in 1266. After the death of his master, Egyō, who was to become abbot of Tōfukuji, returned to Japan (Dainippon zokuzōkyō, Vol.135, p.453b) (Brinker 1993:149).

68 In Chinese: '*zhelu dujiang zhi Shaolin mianli jiu nian.*' (Brinker 1993:149).

Episodes of the Bodhidharma-biography:

- "Bodhidharma broke off a reed"

"On the 19th [day], he consequently departed from Liang-he broke off a reed, crossed the river, and hastened north, and on the 23rd [day] he was at the border of Wei."

Reference: Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, p.214

APPENDIX

KOREAN INSCRIPTIONS

On page 72, plate 149
(Choi 1998.140)

지축을 밟고 돌려도 땅은 움직이지 않고
하늘을 밀고 거꾸려뜨려도 하늘은 더욱 높다
편안하게 철선띄워 소림사에 돌아가
오늘에 이르기까지 바람과 파도를 일으킨다.

임술년 중추 월명 백학명

踏翻地軸地不動
推倒天周天更高
穩泛鐵船歸少室
至今天下起風濤

壬戌 仲秋 月明 白鶴鳴

On page 73, plate 150
(Choi 1998.143-145)

확연히 성자가 없읍니다.
어찌 거기에 들어맞을 수 있는가?
나를 대하는 자가 누구냐?
이를 알지 못합니다.
이로써 깊은 강을 건너게 되고
아직 고생을 면치못하고 있다.

聖諦廓然
何當辨的
對朕者誰
道云不識
因玆暗渡江
未免生荊棘

On page 106
(Im Deoksu 1999:13)

머리 조아리는 善男子는
하얀 六牙의 코끼리를 탔구나.
여보시오 갈대 잎을 탄 達摩 님도
취미는 아마 마찬가지시겠지.

On page 105
(Yi Gyubo 1982:563)

達摩의 畵像족자 위에 쓰는 文

대저 祖師가 서쪽에서 와서 마음을 동쪽에 밝혔으니, 무릇 마음을 구하는 자는 누가 祖師를 절실히 사모하지 않을 자가 있겠는가?

山人 某라는 자가 있어서, 達摩의 風道를 높여 주야로 그의 道를 사모하고 그의 像을 생각하여 남을 시켜서 影像을 그렸다.

그의 지원도 또한 번거롭지 아니하여 나에게 글을 지어서 간략하게 족자 위에 써주기를 청한다. 나는 그가 너무도 간략하게 써 달라는 것을 괴상히 여기고 거짓말로,

"또한 讚을 지어서 그 뒤에 붙이는 것이 좋겠는가?" 하였더니, 그는,

"좋기야 좋지만 족자가 좁으니 그 내력만을 기록하고 싶을 뿐이오." 하였다.

나는 그가 아주 간략하게 써 달라는 것을 다행으로 여기고 드디어 그의 뜻에 따라 대략 줄거리만 적을 뿐이다.

On page 107
(Yangchonjip 1997, vol.3, page 113)

達摩請讚戲贈二絶

붓대 하나 책상 위를 오락가락 하더니만
잠깐 새 늙은 중이 둔갑해 나오누나
종이쪽엔 본래 이 물건이 없었으니
色이 바로 空이란 것 여기서 보겠구려

평소의 경서 연구 實功을 얻는다면
천지의 중화를 한마음에 이루리
쭉정이만 가지고도 堯舜을 만들 텐데
구구하게 達摩像을 그리고 있단 말인가

On page 104
(Im Deoksu 1999: 9-10)

李圭報의 "達摩大師像讚"
소림사에서 面壁參禪한 것은
마음을 전하자는 것이었네
마음이 이미 동방에 전해졌으니
몸과 형체는 西國으로 갈 걸세
현재에 있어서도
전할 것은 마음이요
쓸데없는 것은 몸이라
몸이 이미 떠났거늘
어찌 반드시 像을 그려야 하나
像을 그려 마음을 구하는 것은
뱀 허물에서 구슬을 구하는 격일세
몸이건 像이건
어느 것은 있고 어느 것은 없으리
몸이 꿈속의 물건이라면
像은 꿈속의 꿈일세
몸과 형체는 까마득히 無로 돌아가고
오직 마음과 달과 함께 길이 남으리

On page 109, plate 192 and plate 201
(Choi 1998: 41-44)

십만리길 와서봐도 눈밝은이 드물구나
이러구러 구년세월 소림사서 헛보냈네
늦게라도 신광네가 나를찾아 안왔다면
멀고또먼 사막길이 한갓헛일 되었으리
끌끌(혀차는 소리)

달마대사의 먼손제자 송운

十萬里來青眼少
九年虛度少林春
不逢末後神光拜
也是流沙浪咄人
咄
遠孫 松雲 書

LIST OF PLATES

10 Standing Bodhidharma. Painter: Duan Yong-yuan. China, ink on paper, handscroll, 99.7 x 63.4 cm, Cologne, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, A 74,1 OS (unpublished, with the courtesy of Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne)

11 "[Bodhidharma] coming from the West", Painter: Ji Un-Yeong (1852-1935), Korea, ink and colours on paper, hanging scroll, 140 x 65 cm. Inscription: *The reason [Bodhidharma] came from the West.* Private Collection of Kim Hae-Geun, Korea (Choi 1998, pl. 118)

12 Standing Bodhidharma. Painter: Isshi Bunshū (1608-1646), Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll, height 108 cm, Hosokawa collection, Tokyo (ZENGA 1960. pl. 6)

13 a Six patriarchs of the Chan school. 13th century copy of a Chinese woodblock print dated 1054, Ink drawing on paper, Kōzan-ji, Toga no o (Near Kyōto), exhibited: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970. (Fontein-Hickman 1970: no.1)

13 b Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma. Detail from the drawing 'Six patriarchs of the Chan school'. 13th century copy of a Chinese woodblock print dated 1054, Ink drawing on paper. Kōzan-ji, Toga no o (Near Kyōto), exhibited: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970 (Fontein-Hickman 1970: no.1)

14 Bodhidharma Meditating on a rock plateau under a pine tree. Painter: unknown. Inscription by Yishang Yining (Jp. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317), early 14th century, Japan, Yishang Yining was a Chinese monk who came to Japan in 1229 as a delegate from Yuan China. He became the abbot of Nanzen-ji, Kyoto.
ink and light colours on silk, hanging scroll, 99 x 50.4 cm, executed before 1317, Tokyo National Museum (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, fig. 103)

15 One Brushstroke Bodhidharma. Isshi Bunshū (1608-1646) inscription:
"Ah! Just look at the thorns and briars covering the emperor Wu;
Daruma returned to sit, facing an old wall.
He wasn't just obstinately maintaining a deep silence- all relies upon something that can't be fathomed." (transl. Addiss 1989: 36-40)
Ink on paper, hanging scroll,124 x 28c, Private collection (Addiss 1989, pl.18)

16 One brushstroke Bodhidharmas and an ensō (circle) 1. Shōkai Reikan (1315-1386), 2. Kaiseki (beginning of the 20th century), 3. Nobutada (1565- 1614), 4. Isshi Bunshū (1608-1645), 5. Isshi Bunshū (1608-1645), 6. Daishin Gitō (1656- 1730), 7. Ishida Gōchō (1910-), 8. Ishida Gōchō (1910-), 9. Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1768), 10. Jiun Onkō (1718-1804), 11. Jiun Onkō (1718- 1804), 12. Tōrei (1721-1792), 13. Nakahara Nantenbō (1839-1925), 14. Jiun Onkō (1718- 1804), 15. Yamada Kensai (act. second half of the 20th century) (Details of the paintings, based on McFarland 1987, selected by Beatrix Mecsi)

40 Huike showing his severed arm to Bodhidharma. Painter: Sesshū Tōyō (1420-1506), Japan. Ink and light colours on paper, hanging scroll, 183 x 113.5 cm. Inscription:
Sesshū, "(Occupant of the) First Seat'; dai'ichiza, at the Tiantong [Monastery] of Siming reverently painted this picture at the age of seventy-seven.
Dated: 1496, painted in China. Sainen-ji, Aichi prefecture, Japan. Important Cultural property [Jūyō bunkazai] (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, pl. 17)

41 Half-body Bodhidharma in profile. Painter: Fachang Muqi (act. 13th century, ca. 1210 – 1280), Southern Song Dynasty, China, hanging scroll; ink on paper, 96.4 x 34.2 cm, Tenryū-ji, Kyōto, Japan (Hisamatsu 1971, pl. 62)

42 Bodhidharma meditating, in profile. Unknown painter, inscription by Yishan Yining (Jp. Issan Ichinei, 147-1317). Ink on silk, hanging scroll, 74.5 x 29.1 cm, Japan (Kanazawa 1979. pl. 112)

43 Triptych with meditating Bodhidharma in the central panel. In the style of Sōami (1485?-1525). Probably from the Edo-period, Japan. Ink on paper, hanging scrolls, 73.5 x 34.8 cm, Lempertz Auction 843 Cologne 6-7 June 2003. (Lempertz 2003. lot. 695)

44 Bodhidharma in a circle. Painter: Isshi Bunshū (1608-1646) ink on paper, Eisai Bunko Foundation, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.33)

45 Arhats. One side painting from a triptych showing Śākyamuni Buddha (central panel) and the sixteen arhats (side panels). Painter: Shūtoku. Muromachi period, Japan. Ink and colours on paper, hanging scroll, 95.3 x 41.7 cm, Private collection (Watanabe-Kanazawa-Varley 1986. no.43)

46 Bodhidharma and Huike. Unknown painter, 17th century, China. ink and colours on silk, album leaf, 29 x 34 cm, Hopp Ferenc Museum of East Asian Art, Budapest (Fajcsák 1994, pl.4)

47 Red-robed Bodhidharma in profile. Painter: Shōritsu Shūtan (1413-1481) inscription: Shun'ya Shūen (1529-1611) Muromachi period, Japan. Ink and colours on paper, Private collection. (Tokyo 1988. no.24)

48 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seki Seisetsu (1877-1945), inscription refers to the whisk as a symbol of the Zen master:
"In the wilderness under the autumn sky no one travels.
When the horsehair [whisk] from the East arrives,
Who is it?"
Ink on paper, 24.2 x 36.3 cm, Private Collection (Seo-Addiss 1998. pl.76)

49 "Enlightened Daruma" Painter: Tsuji Kakō (1870-1931) colours on silk, hanging scroll, 123.1 x 42.6 cm, dated 1919, Hakutakuan Collection, Japan (Berry 2001, pl.32)

50 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) inscription:
"I have always got an eye on you!"
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 89.6 x 26.7 cm, second half of the 18th century, The Gitter Collection (Stevens-Yelen 1990. pl. 14)

51 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Suiō Genrō (1716-1789). Inscription:
"Seeing one's nature, becoming Buddha
(signed) the old monk Futō." (Omori-Terayama 1983: 70)
(Futō was Suiō's pen name)
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, dated 1785. Kōhoin Treasury, Japan (Omori-Terayama 1983. pl. 40)

52 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Ilju Kim Jin U (1883-1950) inscription:
"Bodhidharma great master." (on the right)
"Originally I came to this place to tell everybody the Buddhist law,
And I found myself in a confused situation,
One flower has five petals,
And bears fruit according to its own nature."
Watercolour on paper. Korea. Gansong Museum, Seoul (Choi 1998. pl. 119)

53 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927) ink and colours on paper, 174.5 x 88.5 cm. Second half of the 20th century (Seok-Jeong 1996. pl.11)

54 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927) ink and colours on paper. 93.5 x 31 cm. Second half of the 20th century. (Seok-Jeong 1996, pl.40)

55 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927)
ink on paper, 35 x 15 cm. Second half of the 20th century (Seok-Jeong 1996, p.195)

56 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927) ink on paper, 130 x 33 cm. Second half of the 20th century (Seok-Jeong 1996. pl.107)

57 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Wu Chang shuo (1844-1927) ink and light colours on paper, 66 x 49 cm. Dated 1897. Taiwan (Masterpieces of Wu Chang shuo, Qi Baishi and Fu Baoshi 1990. p.16)

58 Arhats (details from a set of sixteen arhats). Painter: Jin Nong. Qing dynasty China. Ink and light colours on paper, Album leaves. Matazaemon Collection, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JP 64-105)

59 Bodhidharma on a reed, and carrying one shoe. Painter: Wu Chang shuo (1844-1927) ink and light colours on paper, 54 x 122.5 cm. Dated 1914, China (Choi 1995. pl.78)

60 Bodhidharma in front of the wall. Painter: Fan Zheng (b. 1938) colours on paper, 68.5 x 68 cm, dated 1981 (Choi 1995.pl. 46)

61 Bodhidharma as a Patriarch (from the set of the six patriarchs of the Chan school). Unknown painter. With the inscription of Xiqian Zitan (1241-1306). Hanging scroll. Myōshin-ji, Kyōto (Brinker 1973. fig. 35.a)

62 Bodhidharma as a Patriarch. 15th century copy from the previous (plate 61) painting. Hanging scroll. Myōshin-ji, Kyōto (Brinker 1973. fig. 37.a)

63 Bodhidharma and Huike. Attributed to Li Gonglin (ca. 1047-1106) colours on silk, hanging scroll. Northern Song period China. Tenryū-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. pl.4)

64 Portrait of an unknown Chan master (traditionally ascribed to Zhang Sigong and the subject matter identified as the Tang dynasty priest Bukong, 705-774). Unknown painter. Ink on silk, hanging scroll. Kōzan-ji, Kyōto (Barnhart 1993. fig.4)

65 Bodhidharma and Huike. Painter: unknown. Probably 20th century, Korea, Haeinsa Monastery. Mural painting (Byeok'hwaro poneun bulgyo iyagi 1996)

66 Bodhidharma and Huike. Unknown Korean painter, 20th century (Kim Na-mi 2000. no.27)

67 Arhat Kanaka Bharadvāja (from a set of sixteen arhats). Attributed to Yan Hui. Yuan Dynasty period, China. colours on silk, hanging scroll. Eigen-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT-108-006)

68 Arhat Kanaka Bharadvāja (from a set of sixteen arhats). Attributed to Minchō (1352-1431). Japan. Colours on silk, hanging scroll. Hakurin-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 139-001)

69 Arhats (from a set of five hundred arhats). Painters: Song Lin Tinggui and Zhou Jichang (Southern Song Dynasty, China) colours on silk. Hanging scroll. 11.5 x 53.4 cm, ca. 1178. Daitoku-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 10-001)

70 Arhat Chūdapanthaka (from a set of sixteen arhats). Unknown painter. With the seal of the Byōdō Shinō-in, Saimyō temple, Kyōto. Nambokuchō or Early Muromachi period, ca. 1350-1400, Japan, 105.5 x 40 cm, Honolulu Academy of Arts (Little 19991.pl.12.16)

71 Arhat with snake and sparrows. Unknown painter from the Muromachi Period, Japan. (from a set of sixteen arhats) colours on silk, hanging scroll. Jōshōkō-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 102-002)

72 Meditating Bodhidharma. Attributed to Yan Hui (Yuan dynasty China), inscription by Mushō Seishō (?) (1234-1306) hanging scroll. Rokuen-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.2)

73 Red-robed Bodhidharma. Painter unknown, inscription by Lanqi Daolong (1231-1278). Painting executed ca. 1271, probably in Japan, ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll, 104.8 x 46.4 cm.

Inscription:
He was the youngest son of King Hsiang-chih
And follower of Prajnātāra's eminent line.
He studied [the tenets of] the Buddha
Destroying the heretical views of the Six Sects
He came to China, and the strange five-petaled flower blossomed
The fragrant doctrine was transmitted on to Japan
The auspicious signs like sands of the river.
The original spiritual sprout of the Shao-lin flourished
And transplanted to the noble line abroad, An extraordinary flower grew.
Respectfully written for Rōnen-koji,
Lan-ch'i Tao-lung of the Kenchō-ji.
Kōgaku-ji, Yamanashi Prefecture Registered National Treasure (Kanazawa 1979, pl.1)

74 Bodhidharma Meditating on a rock plateau under a Pine tree. Painter: unknown. Inscription by Yishang Yining (Jp. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317),Early 14th century. Japan. Yishang Yining was a Chinese monk who came to Japan in 1229 as a delegate from Yuan China. He became the abbot of Nanzen-ji, Kyoto.
Ink and light colours on silk, hanging scroll, 99 x 50,4 cm, executed before 1317, Tokyo National Museum (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, fig. 103)

75 Bodhidharma in frontal view. Unknown artist. Rubbing from an undated stele. Shaolin monastery, Songshan, Henan province, China (Tokiwa Daijō and Sekino Tei, Shina Bunka sheseki. Tokyo 1939-41, vol.2. pl. 96)

76 Dehua porcelain figure of Bodhidharma. Second half of the 17th century. Height: approx.30 cm. Beijing Palace Museum (Lachman 1993, fig.3)

77 Dehua porcelain figure of Bodhidharma. Second half of the 17th century. Height: 26.5 cm. Percival David Foundation, London, reg. no. PDF 413. (postcard)

78 Bige arm rest with low relief design of Bodhidharma on obverse and Milefo with retinue and sixteen arhats on reverse. Lenghth 28 cm, width 5cm. Beijing, Palace Museum (Weng-Boda 1982. fig.190)

79 a, b Bodhidharma flanked by the Daoist Immortals Li Tieguai (right) and Xiama (Liu Haichan) (left). Painer: Minchō (1352-1431), ink and light colours on paper; hanging scrolls, centre: 239 x 149 cm; sides: 230.6 x 118 cm, Late 14th century, Japan, Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto, Japan; exhibited: The Detroit Institute of Arts, October 16 to December 14, 1986; The Honolulu Academy of Arts, January 22 to March 15, 1987, (Watanabe-Kanazawa-Varley, 1986, No. 5)

80 Arhat Kanaka Bharadvāja (from a set of sixteen arhats). Attributed to Minchō (1352-1431). Colours on silk, hanging scroll. Nanbokuchō period, Japan. Jōdō-ji (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 20-002)

81 Arhat with dragon and praying figure (from a set of sixteen arhats). Attributed to Minchō (1352-1431). Colours on silk, hanging scroll. Nanbokuchō period, Japan. Jōdō-ji (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 20-002)

82 Arhat with dragon and praying figure (from a set of sixteen arhats). Painter: Wang Shixiang. Ming Dynasty China. Colours on silk, hanging scroll. Dainenbutsu-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 99-003)

83 Arhat Chūdapanthaka (from a set of sixteen arhats) Attributed to Minchō (1352-1431); colours on silk, hanging scroll, Kōsei-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 29-001)

84 Triptych with Bodhidharma (central panel) and Fenggan and Budai. Unknown painter, inscription on the central panel by Mieweng Wengli (1167-1250). Ink on paper, hanging scrolls, central panel 110.3 x 32.7 cm, Side panels: 104.8 x 32.1 cm. Myōshin-ji, Kyōto (Fontein-Hickman 1970. no.7)

85 Triptych with Bodhidharma and two monks. Painter of Bodhidharma attributed to Yan Hui (14th century), side panels attributed to Liang Kai (13th century). Central panel: colours on silk, side panels: ink on silk. Hanging scrolls. Myōshin-ji, Kyōto, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983. JT 15-010)

86 Triptych with Bodhidharma (central panel), Linji and Teishan (side panels). Painter: Obaku Itsunen (1592-1688). Inscription on the Bodhidharma painting:

"This barbarian monk with green eyes certainly talks a lot!
His teeth open to the wind, he is filled with a haughty spirit.
He agitated the Liang emperor, while his own heart became more empty,
Unconcerned, he sat in the cool, near the twin trees by the riverbank."

Ink and colours on paper, each paintig 124.4 x 39.4 cm. The University of Michigan Museum of Art (Addiss 1978. no.2)

87 Triptych with Bodhidharma, plum and bamboo. Painter: Kim Myeongguk (1600-1662) Ink on silk, hanging scroll, 96.6 x 38.8 cm each, Tokyo Nat. Museum (Choi 1998. pl.21)

88 Bodhidharma in Red Robe. Painter: Ganseki Donsei (?-1376), Japan. Ink and colours on paper, hanging scroll. Inscription:

With missing teeth a native from a far land
Secretly broke off a reed,
[His] single message: a direct pointing [to the mind / heart of man]
Everything returns back to the dust.
Ganseki Donsei (was here)

Before 1376. (Kanazawa 1979, fig. 23)

89 One brushstroke Bodhidharma. Inscription and painting(?): Shōkai Reiken (1315-1396)
My bed is cold when I'm asleep at night Mulberry-paper cassock, paper mosquito curtain
Following the Dharma, acting as circumstances demand
With my hemp-palm chowry, and goosefoot staff.
The colophon is signed: "Taikō, age eighty."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 65.7 x 32.6 cm. Dated 1394 (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. pl.9)

90 Meditating Bodhidarma. Painter: Konoe Nobutada (1565-1614), inscription:
"Quietness and emptiness are enough to pass through life without error."
Ink on paper, 33 x 56 cm. Private Collection (Addiss 1989. pl.8)

91 'Menpeki' Daruma (or wall-gazing Daruma) Painter: Nakahara Nantenbō [Tōjō Zenchū] (1839-1925), inscription:

The form of our Grand Patriarch
Facing the Wall
Or is it a melon or an eggplant
From around Yahata in Yamashiro?

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 133.4 x 31.7 cm, dated 1909. Private collection (Stevens-Yelen 1990. pl.20)

92 Meditating Bodhidharma in landscape setting. Painter: Gakuō Zōkyū (fl. 1504-1520), Muromachi period monk painter, Japan. Ink and colours, hanging scroll, Private collection (Tokyo 1988. no.15)

93 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Yamamoto Baisō (1846-1921). Ink on paper, hanging scroll, Daikōmyō-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no. 49)

94 Meditating Bodhidharma in a cave. Painter: Kim Bo'eung. Korea. Ink on hemp. 141 x 95 cm. Before 1920. Baekyang temple, Korea (Kim Na-mi 2000. pl.41)

95 Meditating Bodhidharma in a cave. Painter: Kim Il-seop (1900-1990); colours on paper, 84.5 x 62 cm. Dated 1941.Korea,. Songgwang temple, Samil-am, bang'u shil (Choi 1995. pl.44)

96 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Yi myeong'u (b. 1923), ink on paper, dated 1972. Private Collection (Choi 1995. pl.45)

97 Bodhidharma shown from the back. Xianfo qizong [Kor. Hongssi Seonpulgijong] comp. by Hong Yinming. printed book, dated 1602 (Choi 1998. pl.35)

98 Bodhidharma shown from the back. Sancai Tuhui [Kor. Samjaedohwi] compiled by Wang Qi (1565-1614) and Wang Siyi; printed book, dated 1610 (Sancai tuhui, reprinted 1988)

99 Arhat in front of a rock cliff (from an original set of sixteen arhats). Painter: Liu Song-nien (act. ca. 1175-after 1207), colours on silk, hanging scroll, 117.4 x 56.1 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei (Wen C. Fong 1996. pl.94)

100 Bodhidharma shown from the back. Painter: Un Limja: Paintings of the fourteen masters- Bodhidharma is the 13th one, inscription by Shin Jeong-ha (1680-1715), Inscription on the Bodhidharma painting:

"The patriarch Bodhidharma is sitting under the stone cave,
It speaks without words,
In respect without respect.
He has been meditating in the snowy mountains for a long time
In clear wisdom and wonderful harmony in the air of absolute stillness.
He cannot seek this in the world,
It is only possible with enormous efforts what you cannot acquire."

Colours on paper, 644 x 26 cm, dated 1698, in the collection of Seong Chong Seonsa (Choi 1998:66-74, pl.34)

101 Bodhidharma as a Patriarch (28th figure) Seon'am-sa, dated 1753, colours on silk, 136 x 235 cm (all together 11 pok) (Cheong Pyeongsam, 2000:194)

102 Bodhidharma is shown from the back. Wall painting outside on the upper bracket of a temple hall. Mihwang temple, Main Hall, mid. 18th century, South Jolla province, Haenam (Lee Young-Hee 1997: pl.81)

103 Bodhidharma is shown from the back. Wall painting outside on the upper bracket of a temple hall. Hyeondaeung-temple, Keukrak Hall, beginning of the 19th century, Gyeonggi province, Ga'pyeong (Lee Young-Hee 1997: pl.82)

104 Bodhidharma as a young boy. Painter: Heo Ryeon (1809-1892). Ink on paper, 125 x 38 cm. Private collection (Choi 1998, pl.56)

105 Bodhidharma shown from the back. Painter: Seok Jeong (b. 1927) ink on paper, 67 x 27.5 cm. Second half of the 20th century (Seok Jeong 1996, p.147)

106 Daruma on a Rush Leaf. Painter: Fūgai Ekun [Dōjin] (inscription: Tōmyō) (1568- 1654) inscription:

Here is the symbol of our tradition,
The Great Master,
First Patriarch of China,
And Twenty-eighth in descent from Buddha.
Tōmyō painted while praying

Ink on paper, hanging scroll (61.6 x 26.7 cm), Dorothy and David Harman Collection (Stevens-Yelen 1990, pl.22)

107 Daruma on a Rush Leaf. Painter: Fūgai Ekun [Dōjin] (inscription: Tōmyō) (1568- 1654) inscription:

The water in the Liang River becomes shallow,
There is no place to moor a large boat.
Watch him go by on a single reed
His legacy continues to increase and increase.

Ink on paper, hanging scroll (127 x 46 cm), Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kansas (Addiss 1989. pl.26)

108 Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed, Painter unknown. Inscription by Yishan Yining (Jap. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317) Early 14th century, ink and light colours on silk, hanging scroll, 101 .6 x 40.8 cm. The partly illegible inscription refers to Bodhidharma's "ten thousand mile journey from the West [India]", and alludes to the cryptic, unsucdessful conversation with the Liang ruler, as well as to the unusual "turning of the head" which the anonymous painter has chosen in contrast to most other versions. Before 1317, China / Japan, Jōdō-ji, Shizuoka Prefecture (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, No. 8)

109 Half-body Bodhidharma. Unknown painter. Inscription by Qingzhuo Zhengcheng (Jp. Seisetsu Shōchō, 1274-1339) ink on paper, hanging scroll, 94 x 43.4 cm. Dated 1326. Izumi shi Kubōsō Kinen Bijutsukan (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. no.7)

110 The 17th Buddhist Arhat with a dragon (detail). Painter: with the inscription of Lu Lengjia (act. c. 730 – 758) Tang Dynasty, China, but in fact a later copy of the Song Period. Ink and colours on silk. Six album leaves, 20x53cm. seals of Emperor Hui Zong and Emperor Gao Zong. Palace Museum, Beijing (Hall 1989, p. 23. and Mesnil 1999, p. 68)

111 Arhat crossing on a reed (from a set of arhat paintings). Attributed to Li Gonglin (ca. 1041-1106) ink on paper, album leaf, Freer Collection. Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. (Meyer 1923. pl. XVI)

112 a.b. Bodhidharma's Crossing on a Reed. Unknown Yuan painter. Colours on silk, hanging scrolls. Tokiwayama Bunko Collection (Suzuki Kei 1983: JP 1-002, 1/2, 2/2)

113 Bodhidharma Crossing on a Reed. Unknown Painter. Kamakura period, Japan, 14th century. Colours on silk, hanging scroll, 68.8 x 40.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Choi 1995. pl.9)

114 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Paek Eun-pae (1820- 1900), Korea. Colours on paper, hanging scroll, 22 x 17 cm, Kim Eun-ho's Collection, Korea (Choi 1998, pl. 64)

115 Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed. Kim Eunho (1892-1979), Korea. Colours on silk, hanging scroll, 19.6 x 32.5 cm. Gansong Art Museum, Seoul (GSMH, 1980. Vol.18. p.34)

116 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Cho Seokjin (1853-1920) Korea. Colours on silk. (Cho Seokjin went to China to study. He was a porcelain-painter. He painted the "drunken eight immortals") colours on silk, hanging scroll, 40.7 x 154 cm, Gansong Art Museum (GSMH, vol.14, 1978, l.4)

117 Arhats Crossing (from a set of arhat paintings). Attributed to Li Gonglin (ca. 1041-1106) ink on paper, album leaf, Freer Collection. Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. (Meyer 1923. pl..XVIII)

118 Immortal Chen Nan Crossing. Painter: Liu Jun (Ming Dynasty China), colours on silk, hanging scroll. Japan. Temple collection (Suzuki Kei 1983. JT 3-025)

119 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Luoping (?) (1733-1799) ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll. Qing China, 46.2 x 113.5 cm. Private Collection (Choi 1995. pl.23)

120 Crossing figure. Painter: Yun Duseo (1668-1715) ink on silk.32 x 25.2 cm (Yun Duseo 1995, pl.25)

121 Bodhidharma's Crossing on a Reed. (detail from a central painting of a triptychon, the side paintings represent Yushan zhu riding a donkey, and Zhenghuangniu riding a water buffalo) Apparition painting. Unknown painter, mid. 13th century. Inscription by Wuzhun Shifan (1178-1249):

"He rudely offended the Emperor Liang,
And in deep sorrow he crossed the river.
For nine years he sat meditating in the cold,
And repeatedly he defeated his opponent in debate.
One flower and five leaves all grow on their own,
Unaffected by the intentional blows of the spring wind."
(English translation by Li Chu-ting 1971:53-54)

Ink on paper, hanging scroll. Tokugawa Reimekai Foundation, Nagoya (Brinker-Kanazawa-Ouvehand 1982. Fig.14)

122 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Rubbing from a stone stele erected in 1308. Shaolin monastery, Songshan, Henan province, China. (Kidō 1978. fig.11)

123 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown painter. Inscription by Kian Soen (1261-1313). Ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll. Dated 1303. Nanzen-ji, Kyoto (Kanazawa 1979. pl.25)

137 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown Yuan painter (active around 1300), inscription by Zhongfeng Mingben (1263-1323)

"The ten thousand miles of the Long Stream
He navigated on a reed.
If you would ask how [that was possible, one would have to say]:
One single transmission, direct pointing.
From now on who wants to ride with him?
(Zhongfeng) Mingben of Huanzhu(an) reverently folds his hands"

The Masaki Bijutsukan in Tadaoka (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, fig. 102)

138 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown painter. Inscription Liaonan Qingyu (1288-1363):

"Winds rise from the reed flowers, the waves high,
It's a long way to go beyond the cliff of the Shao-shih mountain.
Above the worlds of kalpas a flower is opening into five petals.
So that your barefoot heels are just fine for the whipping rattans".
(transl. From Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968:no.209)

Hanging scroll. Cleveland Museum of Art (Lee-Ho 1968. pl.209)

139 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Miyamoto Musashi (Niten) (1584-1645) Ink on paper, hanging scroll, Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation, Nagoya. (Hisamatsu 1971. pl.107)

140 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Rubbing made in the Tienshun period of the Ming Dynasty (1457-1464) from a stone stele (Kidō 1978. fig. 12)

141 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Jin Gyeyu (1558-1639) Ming Dynasty China. Ink and colours on paper, 103.8 x 28.5 cm. Beijing Palace Museum (Choi 1995.pl.12)

142 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Obaku Itsunen (1592-1688). Inscription:

"From a thousand miles away he arrived by boat.
Pressed for answers by the Liang Emperor, he puffed out his cheeks
And said he did not know; even the sages could not understand him.
If someone had not cut off an arm to gain the master's attention,
How could five petals open?"

Ink and colours on silk.hanging scroll, 11.8 x 45.8 cm. Collection of Kimiko and John Powers (Addiss 1978.pl.1)

143 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Kawamura Jakushi (1629-1707), inscription by Yinyuan (Jp. Ingen). Colours on silk, hanging scroll, dated 1672. Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum (Ōbaku catalogue 1985: no.1)

144 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Kawamura Jakushi (1629-1707), colours on silk, hanging scroll, dated 1677. Kōbe City Museum (McFarland 1987. pl.6)

145 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Shin'etsu (Ch. Xin Yue, 1639-1695) inscription:

"In the Liang Imperial Palace he would not explain who he was,
But crossed the river with sealed lips and piercing eyes
Until he arrived at complete tranquillity:
A single flower, five petals together in the spring."

Ink on silk, hanging scroll, 99 x 34 cm. Private Collection. (Addiss 1989. pl.44)

146 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Kōgan Gengei (1747-1821) inscription:

"Anyone who understands Daruma's actions, do likewise!"

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 68 x 28.5 cm, New Orleans Museum of Art (Gitter collection, 82.53) (Stevens-Yelen 1990. pl.21)

147 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Rozan Ekō (1865-1944), inscription:

You know he came from the West over the ocean to the East;
But if you also know that he sat peacefully at Shaolin in the evenings,
Then for you the wind in the pines,
The moon in the ivy are also pure emptiness.

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 125.3 x 29.2 cm Private collection (Seo-Addiss 1998. pl.63)

148 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Sōen (Japanese monk) first half of the 20th century. Ink on paper, 183 x 97 cm. Tongdosa Temple Museum, Korea. Sōen gave this painting to the Korean monk Baek Hak-myeong asa present (Choi 1998. pl.104)

149 Bodhidharma's Crossing on a Reed. Painter: Baek Hak-myeong (1867-1929) Inscription:

"Even if I have turned the axis of the world, the Earth does not move.
Even if I want to pull down the boundaries of the Heaven,
The Heaven becomes higher and higher than before.
Comfortably I took an iron boat and returned to Shaolin temple,
Until today in the world wind and waves are raising.
In the year of Imsul (1922), mid-autumn,
Wolmyeong Baek Hakmyeong."

Ink on paper. 90.9 x 27.5 cm, dated 1922. Tongdosa Temple Museum, Korea (Choi 1998. pl.102)

150 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Song Doseong Jusan (1907-1946) inscription:

"Obviously there is no sacred thing.
Who can be the proper person for the sacred things?
Who is the person who treats me-I do not know.
Consequently I cross the deep river
And still suffer very much."

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 119 x 33 cm. Collection of the General Office of Won Buddhism (Choi 1998. pl.106)

151 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Wall- painting, Haeinsa, Korea (Byeok'hwaro poneun bulgyo iyagi 1996)

152 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Won Dam (b.1925), ink on paper, hanging scroll, 137 x 34.5 cm. Collection of Kim Jeol (Choi 1998. pl.79)

153 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927), ink and light colours on paper, 112.5 x 35 cm (Seok Jeong 1996. pl. 226)

154 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Fumon Mukan (fl. mid. thirteenth century) Taman collection, Osaka Municipal Museum, Japan (Li 1971.p.58)

155 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Yin Tuoluo (early Yuan dynasty); Asano Collection, Tokyo, Japan (Kokka 215.pl.VII)

156 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Zheng Zhong (early 17th century) (Li 1971.p.64)

157 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Kim Myeongguk (ca.1600-1662) signature: 'drunken old man', ink on paper, hanging scroll, 97.6 x 48.2 cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul (Choi 1998. pl.20)

158 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769), ink on paper, 113.3. x 52.4 cm. Private collection (Awakawa 1970. Fig. 72)

159 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927), ink on paper. Private collection (Kim Yeongjae 2001.pl.1-14)

160 Arhats crossing water (from ten arhat paintings from Daitoku-ji, Kyoto, Japan) painter: Zhou Jichang (act. second half of 12th century), hanging scroll mounted as panel; ink and colours on silk, 111.5 x 53.1 cm. Southern Song Dynasty, ca. 1178, China. Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 06.291., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Wu Tung 1996, No. 35)

161 Four Immortals Honouring the God of Longevity. Painter: Shang Xi (fl. 1426-1435) Ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll, 98.3 x 143.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taibei. (Guo li gong bo wu yuan gu gong bao ji 1985. vol.2.pl.146)

162 Daoist Immortal Zhongli Quan is crossing the sea. Yan Hui (Yuan dynasty period) ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll, Tanaka collection, Japan (Li 1971. Fig.15)

163 Śākyamuni Buddha descending from the Mountain ('Shussan Shaka'). Unknown artist. 13th century copy from the Kōzan-ji workshop after a twelfth century Chinese prototype. Ink on paper, mounted as hanging scroll, 90.8 x 41.9 cm. Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Collection. 50.124. (Brinker 1973. Fig.1)

164 Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Copy after Sesshū (1420-1506) by Hayashi Kyōsetsu (dates unknown) inscription by Jikushin Keisen. Dated 1840 (Tenpō 11) ink on paper, hanging scroll, 104 x 39.4 cm. Tokyo National Museum (Sesshū catalogue 2002. pl.24)

165 Śākyamuni Buddha descending from the Mountain ('Shussan Shaka') painter: Sesshū (1420-1506) ink on paper, hanging scroll. 83.3 x 33.5 cm. Private collection. (Sesshū catalogue 2002. pl.22)

166 Avalokitēśvara on a lotus leaf. Unknown artist. 13th century copy from the Kōzan-ji workshop after a twelfth century Chinese prototype. Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 91.1 x 43.7 cm. Private collection (Lachman 1993. Fig. 13)

167 Bodhidharma carrying one shoe. Ming dynasty rubbing from a stele (Kim Yeongjae 2001. Fig.6-27)

168 Bodhidharma carrying one shoe. Unknown Ming dynasty artist, inscription by Mokuan Sōen (?) (1611-1684), in the collection of Manfuku-ji (Tokyo 1988. No.5)

169 Bodhidharma with one shoe. Painter: Yiran (Jp. Itsunen, 1592-1673), inscription by Yinyuan (Jp.Ingen) ink on paper, hanging scroll, 91.8 x 31 cm (Ōbaku catalogue 1985, no.64)

170 Bodhidharma with one shoe. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) ink on paper, 193 x 107.8 cm, dated 1757. Ryūkyū-ji, Japan (Edo no Shūkyō bijutsu 1979. No.67)

171 Bodhidharma with one shoe (central scroll of a triptych). Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) ink on paper. Ryūen-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.39)

172 One shoe and a rush leaf (symbols of Bodhidharma). Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) ink on paper (Tokyo 1988. No.42)

173 Bodhidharma carrying one shoe. Painter: Takujū Kosen (1760-1833) ink on paper. Enfuku-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. No.47)

174 Bodhidharma carrying one shoe. Painter: Jung Kwang (1935-2002) Korea. Ink on paper (Lancaster 1979. pl.52)

175 Head of Bodhidharma, in profile (detail). Painter: Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386-1428), inscription: monk Shunsaku Zenkō. Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 75 x 26 cm. Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln (Addiss-Hurst 1983. pl.4)

176 Head of Bodhidharma, in profile. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769), ink on paper, hanging scroll,130.8 x 56.4 cm. Tokyo. Eisei Bunko Foundation (Edo no Shūkyō bijutsu 1979. no.70)

177 Half-body Bodhidharma, en-face. Painter: Miyamoto Musashi ('Niten') (1584-1645) ink on paper, hanging scroll (Tokyo 1988.no.29)

178 Half body Bodhidharma en-face (from a set of the six Chan patriarchs). Painter: Yiran (Jp. Itsunen) (1592-1688), inscription by Jifei (Jp. Sokuhi, 1616-1671), colours on silk, hanging scroll, 107.1 x 42.6 cm, dated 1667. Fukujiu-ji, Fukuoka prefecture, Japan (Ōbaku catalogue, no.56)

179 Half body Bodhidharma en-face (from a set of the six Chan patriarchs). Painter: Yiran (Jp. Itsunen) (1592-1688), inscription by Yinyuan (Jp. Ingen, 1592-1673), colours on silk, hanging scroll, 109.8 x 50.2 cm. Manpuku-ji, Kyoto Prefecture, Japan (Tokyo 1988, no.51)

180 Half body Bodhidharma. Unknown painter, seventeenth century. Osaka Museum of Nanban Culture (McFarland 1987.pl.4)

181 Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818), wax oil on paper 42.8 x 48 cm. ca.1780, Kōbe, City Museum (French 1974)

182 Half body Bodhidharma (from a set of six Chan patriarchs) made after a 12th century Chinese stele copied by Hakuun Egyō (1223-1297), Rikkyoku-an temple, Kyōto, Japan (Brinker 1973. Fig.12.a)

183 Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Kichizan Minchō (1351-1431), ink and colours on paper, Dairyū-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.13)

184 Half body Bodhidharma. Unknown painter, (late Muromachi period, 16th century) colours on silk, hanging scroll, 109.2 x 54 cm. Shōrin zen-ji, Okayama Prefecture, Japan (David Jones' Art Gallery, Sydney, Austalia, catalogue 9-31. October 1981. lot.14)

185 Patriarchs of Chan Buddhism. Painters: Kano Tanyu, Tsunenobe and Masunobu (seventeenth century), inscription by Yinyuan (Ingen), 1663. Colours on paper, three hanging scrolls. Manpuku-ji, Kyōto prefecture (Ōbaku catalogue 1985 no.107)

186 Half-body Bodhidharma. Fourteenth century Japanese copy of a twelfth century Chinese prototype. Ink and colours on silk. Tenryū-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.9)

187 Half-body Bodhidharma. Fourteenth century Japanese copy of a twelfth century Chinese prototype. Ink and colours on silk, 98 x 51 cm. Yabumoto Sōgorō collection (Brinker-Kramers-Ouwehand 1982.fig.1)

188 Half-body Bodhidharma. Yuan Chinese model painted by Xuejian, inscription by Bingshi Ruzhi (Jp. Hinshii Nyoshi, died 1357) (Tokyo 1988 no.7)

189 Half-body Bodhidharma. Attributed to Sesshū (1420-1506), colours on silk, hanging scroll, 87.8 x 38.7 cm. Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tokyo (Sesshū catalogue 2002. pl.108)

190 Half-body Bodhidharma. Attributed to Sesshū (1420-1506). Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 79 x 33.8 cm. Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tokyo (Sesshū catalogue 2002. pl.23)

191 Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Kanō Motonobu (1476-1559). Ink on paper, hanging scroll. Teishō-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.55)

192 Half-body Bodhidharma. Japanese monk painter Goshō, inscription by the Korean monk Sa'myeongdang Yujeong (1554-1610):

"Even though I came from ten thousand li
Only a few people have eyes with insight
I spent nine empty years in Shaolin temple
If you, Shenggan, would not have searched for me,
It would have been a useless work coming along in the desert.
Distant grandson Seongeun's inscription."

Ink on paper, hanging scroll (Choi 1998. pl.11)

193 Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Kim Myeongguk (ca.1600-1662). Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 82.8 x 57.5 cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul (Choi 1998. pl.17)

194 Printed textile with the impression of Kim Myeongguk's painting, sold as souvenir in Tongdosa, Korea, 1990s.

195 Half-Figure Portrait of Bodhidharma. Painter unknown, inscription by Mieweng Wenli (1167-1250). Executed before 1250, China. Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 83.5 x 33 cm. Inscription:

"He murmured only: 'I don'tknow.'
How could he understand Chinese, when he spoke only in a barbarian tongue?
If Old Xiao [Emperor Wu] had had more blood under his skin,
He would have pursued [Bodhidharma] beyond the flowing sands [of the Central Asian deserts]
in search of the Dharma. The fire wood gatherer of [Mt.] Tianmu."

Myōshin-ji, Kyōto, Important Cultural Property [Jūyō Bunkazai](Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, No.6)

196 Half-body Bodhidharma. Unknown Yuan dynasty painter. Ink on silk, hanging scroll, 90.8 x 49.3 cm. Freer Art Gallery, Washington D.C. (Freer 1973. no.23)

197 Half-body Bodhidharma. Unknown Momoyama period painter, late sixteenth century. Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 76.5 x 39 cm, Arthur Morrison Collection, The British Museum (Smith-Harris-Clark 1990. no.39)

198 Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Hasegawa Tōhaku (Nobuharu) (1539-1610). 71 x 56.7 cm. Ishikawa, Ryūmon-ji (Zen no Bijutsu 1983. no.67)

199 Bodhidharma. Painter: Jung Kwang (1935-2002), ink on paper, 60 x 62 cm. Dated 1975 (Jung Kwang 1983.pl.32)

200 Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927), inscription:
"Why are you gazing with angry eyes?
Buddha is only a dust in front of the eyes."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll. Dated 1977 (Choi 1998. pl.175)

201 Bodhidharma. Unknown Japanese painter, inscription by Sa'myeongdang Yujeong (1554-1610):
"Even though I came from ten thousand li
Only a few people have eyes with insight
I spent nine empty years in Shaolin temple
If you, Shenggan, would not have searched for me,
It would have been a useless work coming along in the desert.
Distant grandson Seongeun's inscription."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 27.5 x 74 cm (GSMH.Vol.16. 1979.pl.33)

202 Bodhidharma. Painter: Japanese Zen monk Takuan Sōhō (1573-1645), ink on paper, hanging scroll, 70.5 x 29.8 cm. Daitō-ji, in Hyōgo prefecture, Japan (Edo no Shūkyō bijutsu 1979. no.72)

203 Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Kenkō Shōkei (Kei Shoki) (fl. in the mid. 15th, early 16th century). Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 93.5 x 46 cm. Nanzen-ji, Kyōto, Japan (Fontein-Hickman 1970. no.57)

204 Half body Bodhidharma. Attributed to Ma Yuan (ca.1155-after 1225), colours on silk, hanging scroll, Enfuku-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.3)

205 Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Gyeong Bong Jeong Seok (1892-1982), inscription:
"In the place where someone got enlightened, water flows and flower blooms."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll (Choi 1998.pl.158)

206 Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Hōjū Zenbyō (1802-1872), inscription:
"Vast emptiness, nothing holy!"
Ink on paper, 89.6 x 29.8 cm, Private Collection (Stevens-Yelen, 1990, pl. 10)

207 Half body Bodhidharma . Painter: Takujū Kosen (1760-1833), inscription:
"Externally, cut off all relationships;
Internally, do not stir the mind.
When your mind resembles a solid wall,
You can enter the Way (of Zen)."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 56.5 x 66.0 cm, dated: 1832, The Gitter Collection (Stevens-Yelen, 1990, pl. 8)

208 Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Shunsō Shōjū (1750-1839), inscription:
"A single flower opens to five petals,
And bears fruit according to its own nature."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 102 x 51 cm. Dated 1828. Private Collection (Addiss 1989, pl. 81)

209 Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Reigen Etō (1721-1785), inscription:
"Son of an Indian prince,
Disciple of a meditation master from Central Asia
(Daruma has ended up here.)"
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 67.3 x 27.9 cm. New Orleans Museum of Art , Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Kurt A. Gitter, 82.146 (Stevens-Yelen 1990, pl. 6)

210 Half body Bodhidharma. Hakuin Ekaku [Nagasawa] (1685-1769), inscription:
"Bamboo-rustles in the cool freshness,
Shattering the golden shadows of the moon."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 81.9 x 26.0 cm, The Gitter Collection, New Orleans Museum of Art (Stevens-Yelen 1990, pl. 5)

211 Daruma in red. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku [Nagasawa] (1685-1769), inscription:
"Pointing directly to the human heart:
See your own nature and become Buddha!"
Ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 191 x 111 cm, Manjū-ji, Oita (Addiss 1989, pl. 69)

212 Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927), inscription:
'What is the person who came from the West doing?'
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 43.5 x 28 cm. Dated 1972. Collection of Yeoyeo Haeng, Korea (Choi 1998. pl.173)

213 Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Sengai Gibon (1750-1838), ink on paper, Hosokawa collection, Tokyo (Fontein-Hempel 1968. Fig. 31)

214 Arhat Kālika. From cave 17, Dunhuang, Tang dynasty, early to mid- 9th century, ink and colours on paper, 43.5 x 26 cm. Stein Collection OA 1919.1-1.0169, The British Museum, London (Whitfield-Farrer 1990.pl. 54)

215 Mahākāśyapa. Sculpted in low relief from the Lianhua cave, Longmen, ca. 521. The figure's face is in the Guimet Museum, Paris from 1936. (Kent 1995:40. fig. 13)

216 Ink rubbing of a stele depicting the sages of the Three Teachings (Ch. Sanjiao). Jin Dynasty, dated 1209. Limestone; 123 x 60 cm. Shaolin Temple, Mount Song, Henan Province (Little 2000, fig. 10)

217 Portrait of Laozi. Painted by Fachang Muqi (act. 13th century, ca. 1210 - 1280), Southern Song Dynasty, early 13th century, hanging scroll; ink on paper, 88.9 x 33.5 cm, Okayama Prefectural Museum of Art (Little 2000, no. 1)

218 The Three Doctrines. Painter: Jōsetsu (act. first half of 15th century), Japan, detail. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 98.2 x 21.8 cm. Inscribed by Kantōsō (dates unknown) and Ryūtō (dates unknown), Ryōsokuin, Kyōto (Watanabe-Kanazawa-Varley, 1986, no. 6)

219 The Three Vinegar Tasters (Jp. Sansan). Painter: Reisai (act. mid-15th century), Japan. Detail. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Umezawa Kinenkan, Tokyo (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. fig. 4)

220 The Three Laughers of the Tiger Ravine (Jp. Kokei Sanshō). Painter: Chū'an Shinkō (active mid-15th century), Japan. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. Minoru Hosomi Collection, Ōsaka, Japan (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. fig. 5)

221 Bodhidharma on the altar in the Patriarch Hall in a Chinese Buddhist Monastery, Sizuhuan, Chengdu. photo taken before 1937 (Prip-Møller 1937)

222 Bodhidharma(?). Unknown painter, Late Joseon period, Korea. Seal of 'Seol Bong'. Colours on paper. National Museum of Korea, Seoul (Deok 2278) (with the courtesy of the National Museum of Korea)

223 Bodhidharma. Unknown painter, Late Joseon period, Korea. Inscription: 'Image of Bodhidharma crossing the River' though the painting does not refer to this episode of Bodhidharma's legend. Colours on paper. Private collection (Kim Na-mi 2000. no.36)

224 Huineng, the sixth Chan patriarch. Printed in 1610 (*Sancai tuhui,* Reprint 1988)

225 Huineng (from a set of the six Chan patriarchs). Twelfth century rubbing, Rikkyoku-an, Kyoto, Japan (Brinker 1973. Fig.12.b)

226. Huineng (from a set of the six Chan patriarchs), unknown painter, inscription by Guchū Shūkyū (1323-1409) colours on silk, hanging scroll, Tennei-ji, Fukuchiyama (Brinker 1973. Fig.16)

227 Half-body portrait of Huineng (among patriarchs, in the middle. Detail from the seven scroll set representing thirty patriarchs, and Śākyamuni Buddha holding a flower), painter: Minchō (1351-1431) colours on silk, dated 1426, Rokuō-in, Kyoto, Japan (Brinker 1973. Fig.12.b)

228 Huineng, the sixth Chan patriarch, *Xianfo qizong* [Kor. *Hongssiseonbulgijong*] printed in 1602, China

229 Bodhidharma and Huike, wall painting, Daewonsa, Geukrak Hall, South Jolla Province, beginning of the 18th century (Pak Dohwa, 1999:45)

230 Bodhidharma and Huike, wall painting, Tongdosa, Ungjin Hall,1670 (Pak Dohwa 1999:112-113)

231 Bodhidharma. Ming period rubbing from the Shaolin Monastery (Kidō Chūtarō, 1932, reprint 1978: pl.13)

232 Bodhidharma. Bronze sculpture executed by a Chinese sculptor. Waujeong Temple, Yong'in district, Kyeonggi do, Korea, 1992 (Pyeon Jippu 2002: 20-21)

233 Bodhidharma and Huike, ink and colours on paper, end of Joseon period, Haeinsa, Collection of the Tweseol Hall (Kim Na-mi 2000)

234 Bodhidharma. Unknown painter, middle of Joseon period, 340 x 280 cm, Emille Museum, Korea (Kim Na-mi, 2000: 70-71)

235 Standing figure on a reed. Painter: Kim Hongdo (1745-1806) Inscription: "Crossing the sea on a reed", colours on paper, 58.3 x 10.5 cm, Gansong Art Gallery, Seoul (Choi 1998: pl. 40)

236 Daoist Immortal. Painter: Shen Chou (1427-1509). Ming China, dated 1501, ink and colours on paper, 69.9 x 31.7 cm, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum (Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting, 1980: no. 156)

237 Figure Sleeping while sitting on a reed. Painter: Kim Hongdo (1745-1806) ink and colours on paper, 38.4 x 26.6 cm, Gansong Art Museum (GSMH 2002. pl.86)

238 Figure sleeping while sitting on a reed. Painter: Shim Sajeong (1707-1769), ink and colours on paper, 27.3 x 22.5 cm, Gansong Art Museum, Seoul (Choi 1998:pl. 43)

239 Figure sleeping and sitting. Painter: Kim Seokshin. Inscription: "painting of sleeping and sitting." Ink and light colours on paper, 26 x 20.5 cm. Gansong Art Museum, Seoul, Korea (GSMH 1980. Fig.16)

240 Immortal Liu Haichan crossing the sea. Painter: Liu Jun (pen name: Ting Wei), Ming China, 15-16th century, colours on silk(Encyclopaedia of the Ancient Chinese painters, in Chinese, p.257)

241 Immortal crossing the sea on a shrimp. Painter: Kim Hongdo (1745-1806), ink and light colours on paper, 33.1 x 41 cm, Sun Moon University Museum collection (Sun Moon Collection 2001: pl. 83, p.280)

242 Bodhidharma crossing while sitting on a reed. Painter: Yi Doyeong (1885-1934). Ink and colours on paper, 116 x 36.5 cm. Tongdosa Temple Museum (Choi 1995. pl.29)

243 Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Emperor Goyōzei (1571-1617, reigned 1568-1611), ink on paper, hanging scroll, Jishō-in, Shōtoku-ji, Kyoto, Japan (McFarland 1987. pl.3)

244 Self-portrait (Self-illumination).Painter: Fūgai Ekun (Dōjin)(1568- 1654), inscription:
Fūgai's poem:
"Yearning for friends in my rocky cave, I am captivated by the singing of small birds;
The wind entering deep into the grotto mingles with the voice of the stream.
Awakening from a dream, this hermit exists beyond the world
A quiet life, off by myself, fulfills my spirit."
Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 57.5 x 27.3 cm, Japan, Private Collection (Addiss 1989, pl. 21)

245 Daruma-portrait (detail). Painter: Fūgai Ekun (Dōjin) (1568- 1654). Inscription:
"This old barbarian sat face to the wall,
Everyone in the Zen tradition is left confused
One thousard years, ten thousand years
Will anyone ever understand?

This wall-gazing old barbarian monk
Has eyes that exceed the glow of the evening lamp;
His silence has never been challenged
His living dharma extends to the present day."
Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll. 26 x 16.54 cm, L. Wright Collection (Addiss 1989, pl. 25)

246 Nakahara Nantenbō [Tōjō Zenchū] (1839- 1925), Japan, photograph of the monk (Seo-Addiss 1998)

247 Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Nakahara Nantenbō [Tōjō Zenchū] (1839- 1925), Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 97.2 x 40.6 cm. Inscription:
"I don't know!"
Dated 1917, Private Collection, Japan (Stevens-Yelen 1990. pl. 11)

248 Yūzen Gentatsu [Sanshōken] (1842-1918), Japan, photograph of the monk (Seo-Addiss 1998)

249 Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Yūzen Gentatsu [Sanshōken] (1842-1918), inscription:
"See your own nature, become Buddha!"
Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 80.2 x 32.5 cm, Hōsei-an Collection, Japan (Seo-Addiss 1998, pl. 28)

250 Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Tōrei Enji (1721-1792), inscriptions:
"Directly pointing the human heart
See [one's true] nature [thereby] realizing Buddhahood."
"Respectful painting of Bodhidharma According to the Chanjing.
Pure white in the centre is a mark for the eighth consciousness. Black represents the seventh consciousness. Red represents the sixth consciousness. The eye, ear, and the nose are located on the body. Next, the red lines on the yellow body display the different channels of the mind. The dark red of the tanden only indicates that it is the crucial point where vital energy is gathered."
"The three divisions of mindful breathing, superior way, and contemplation of foulness, each set up four heavy barriers. The two practices (the expedient way and the superior way) enter into contact with [external] constituents, deepening meditative absorbtion. The four [boundless] teachings harmonize the senses and reinforce the source of the vows. The lord of the aggregates and the minister of the sense-data are equipped with culture and military force; karmic relations arise and the body is born, wisdom and compassion are brought to perfection. One must examine in detail the specialized and cumulative [benefits] of verses and prose. This is precisely the nine cinnabar-revolutions of Sholin (Bodhidharma."
"Painted in the fall of 1781 following the request of layman Tokkō(?). The first half of the zazen [retreat] and lecture at the Sōyū-ji having been completed, humbly written by Tōrei."
Ink and light colours on paper, dated 1781 (translation of the inscription and photograph with the courtesy of Michel Mohr 2003)

251 Daruma-doll as an Amulet for Protection Against Smallpox. Artist: Kitano Shigemasa, ca. Tenmei era (1781-1789), hosoban size benizuri-e. Krakow (Japanese Art. The Great European Collections.1997. Vol.10. no. 39)

252 Daruma-dolls at Mampuku-ji, Ōji, Japan (Photo: Beatrix Mecsi)

253 Five colour Daruma-dolls, made from silk cocoons (Baten 1992)

254 Bodhidharma and a courtisan. Painter: Katsushika Hokuun (fl.1804-1844), inscription:
"Meditating on nothing
other than you,
I profoundly regret
That I have lost my prick
And my ass really stinks."
Ink and colour on silk, hanging scroll. Private collection (Christies New York 1998, 27 October, lot. 94)

255 Bodhidharma and a courtisan changing cloths. Painter: Takeda Harunobu (fl. first half of 18th century), colours on silk, hanging scroll. 62.5 x 31.6 cm. Shin'enkan collection, Los Angeles. (Tuchmann 1986. Fig.32)

256 House of Pleasures (on the wall a Bodhidharma-painting). Painter: Kawanabe Gyōsai (1831-1889). Los Angeles County Museum of Art (McFarland 1987. pl.11)

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Beatrix Mecsi

HOW DID BODHIDHARMA COME TO THE EAST?

The Visual Representations of Bodhidharma in East Asian Art with a Special Emphasis on the Korean Bodhidharma-paintings and the Formation of Bodhidharma's Iconography

Volume II

PLATES

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

Half figure Bodhidharma, Anonymous painter, inscription by Wuzhun Shifan (1177-1249), 13th century, China, ink on paper, hanging scroll, before 1249, Hatakeyama Kinenkan, Tokyo (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, fig. 106.)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Hyōbu Bokkei (d. 1473), Inscription: Ikkyū Sōjun [Kyōunshi] (1394-1481), Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 148.5 x 58.0 cm, Shinju-an, Daitoku-ji, Kyōto, Japan (Sesshū catalogue 2002: no.8)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Kim Myeong-guk (1600- 1662), Korea, ink on paper, hanging scroll, Inscription: *Drunken old man* (as a signature). Collection of Ikōki Toshio, Japan (Choi 1998, pl. 19)

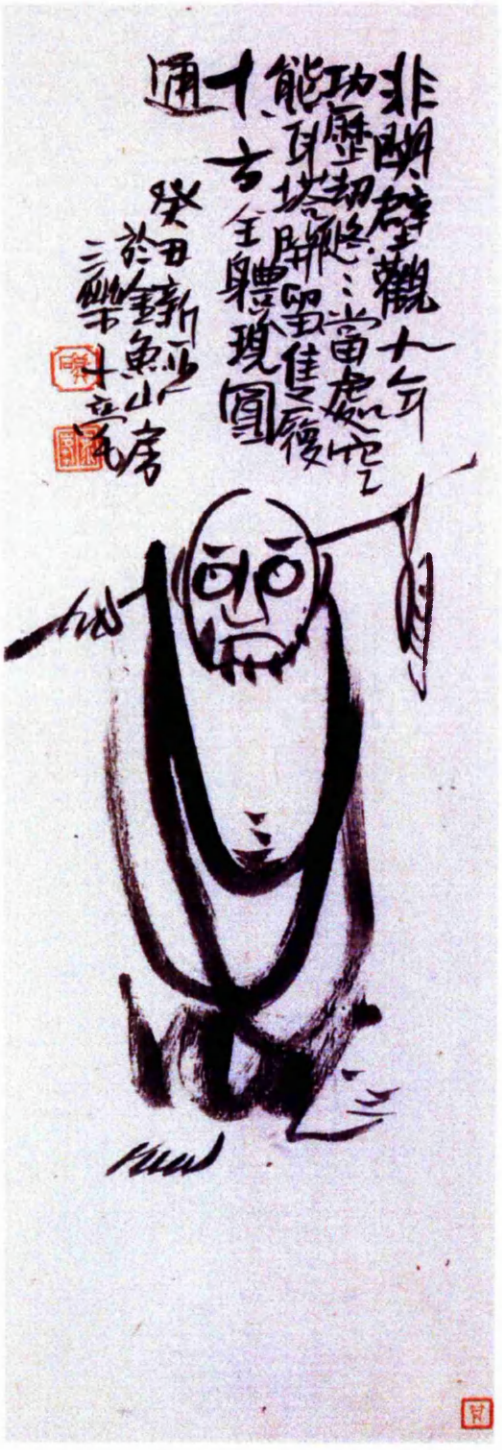
Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed, Painter unknown. Inscription by Yishan Yining (Jap. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317) Early 14th century, ink and light colours on silk, hanging scroll,101 .6 x 40.8 cm. The partly illegible inscription refers to Bodhidharma's "ten thousand mile journey from the West [India]", and alludes to the cryptic, unsucdessful conversation with the Liang ruler, as well as to the unusual "turning of the head" which the anonymous painter has chosen in contrast to most other versions. Before 1317, China/Japan, Jōdō-ji, Shizuoka Prefecture (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, no. 8)

Bodhidharma Crossing on a reed (central panel of a triptych) Painter: Kanō Tan'yū (1602-1674), inscriptions by Yinyuan Longqi (Jp. Ingen Ryūki) (1592-1673); Muan Xingtao (Jp. Mokuan Shōtō) (1611-1684) and Jifei Ruyi (Jp. Sokuhi Nyoitsu) (1616-1671), Japan, ink and light colours on paper, hanging scrolls, each 107.2 x 38.1 cm

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Shim Sajeong (Korea, Joseon dynasty), ink on paper, 27.6 x 35.9 cm, Inscriptions: "Dalma [Bodhidharma] crossing the sea", Hyeonje [Shim Sajeong's pen name], Gansong Art Museum, Korea (GSMH, XIII., Vol. 18., 1980)

Bodhidharma carries a shoe, rubbing made of a stone stele, Artist unknown, Daan reign period of the Jin Dynasty (1209-1212), China (Kidō 1978, pl. 10)

Bodhidharma returning to the West with one Shoe (Jp. Sekiri Daruma). Painter unknown, inscription by Nanpō Jōmin, (abbot of Sūfuku-ji) (1235-1308), Japan, end of the 13th century, ink on silk, hanging scroll, 69.5 x 31.4 cm, dated: 1296, Masaki Art Museum, Tadaoka, Ōsaka Prefecture (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, fig. 105)



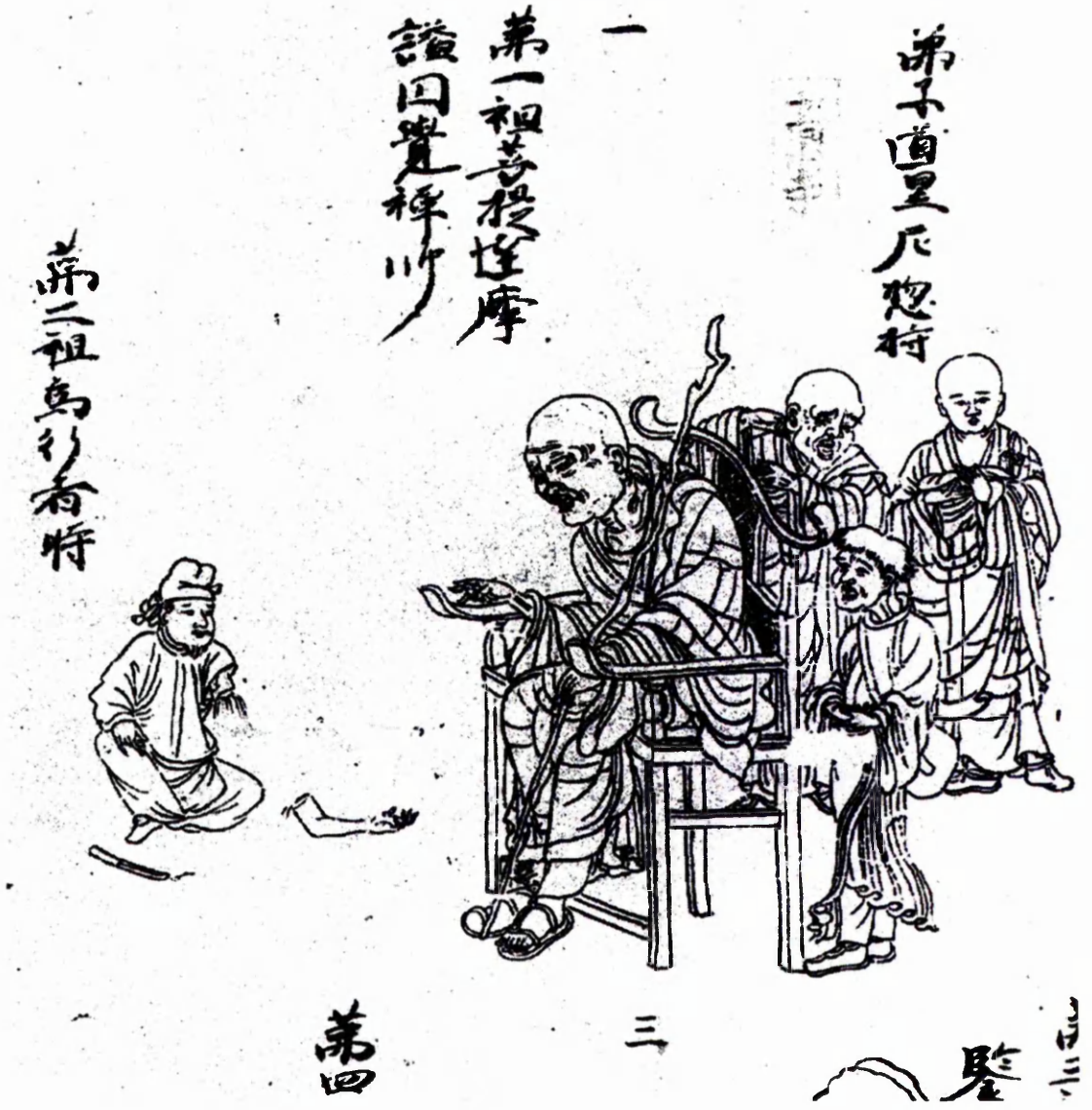
Bodhidharma carries one shoe. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927) Korea, second half of 20th century, ink on paper, 87 x 28 cm, Private collection (Seok Jeong 1996, p. 41)

Standing Bodhidharma. Painter: Duan Yong-yuan. China, ink on paper, handscroll, 99.7 x 63.4 cm, Cologne, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, A 74,1 OS (unpublished, with the courtesy of Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne)

"[Bodhidharma] coming from the West", Painter: Ji Un-Yeong (1852-1935), Korea, ink and colours on paper, hanging scroll, 140 x 65 cm. Inscription: *The reason [Bodhidharma] came from the West.* Private Collection of Kim Hae-Geun, Korea (Choi 1998, pl. 118)

Standing Bodhidharma. Painter: Isshi Bunshū (1608-1646), Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll, height 108 cm, Hosokawa collection, Tokyo (ZENGA 1960. pl. 6)

Six patriarchs of the Chan school. 13th century copy of a Chinese woodblock print dated 1054, Ink drawing on paper, Kōzan-ji, Toga no o (Near Kyōto), exhibited: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970 (Fontein-Hickman 1970: no.1)



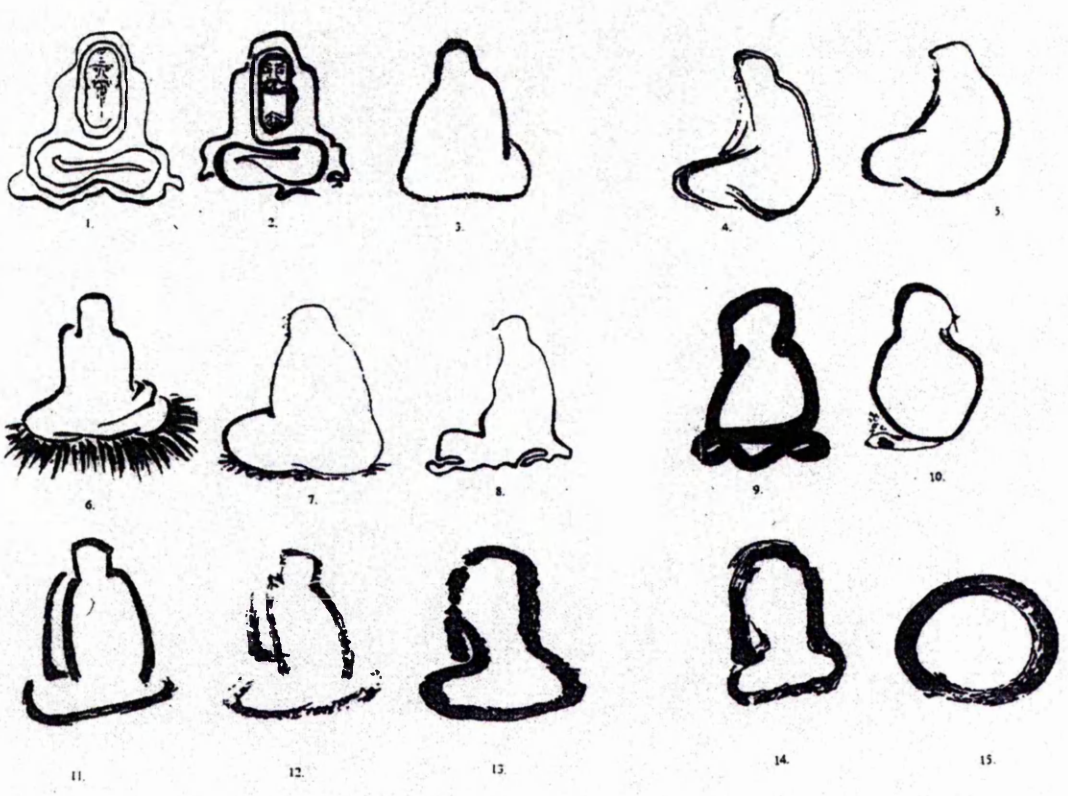
Kōzan-ji Bodhidharma. Detail from the drawing 'Six patriarchs of the Chan school'. 13th century copy of a Chinese woodblock print dated 1054, Ink drawing on paper. Kōzan-ji, Toga no o (Near Kyōto), exhibited: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970 (Fontein-Hickman 1970: no.1)

Bodhidharma meditating on a rock plateau under a pine tree. Painter: unknown. Inscription by Yishang Yining (Jp. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317), early 14th century, Japan, Yishang Yining was a Chinese monk who came to Japan in 1229 as a delegate from Yuan China. He became the abbot of Nanzen-ji, Kyoto.
ink and light colours on silk, hanging scroll, 99 x 50.4 cm, executed before 1317, Tokyo National Museum (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, fig. 103)

One Brushstroke Bodhidharma. Isshi Bunshū (1608-1646) inscription:

"Ah! Just look at the thorns and briars
covering the emperor Wu;
Daruma returned to sit, facing an old wall.
He wasn't just obstinately maintaining a deep silence- all relies upon something that can't be fathomed." (transl. Addiss 1989: 36-40)

Ink on paper, hanging scroll,124 x 28c, Private collection (Addiss 1989, pl.18)



One brushstroke Bodhidharmas and an ensō (circle) 1. Shōkai Reikan (1315-1386), 2. Kaiseki (beginning of the 20th century), 3. Nobutada (1565- 1614), 4. Isshi Bunshū (1608-1645), 5. Isshi Bunshū (1608-1645), 6. Daishin Gitō (1656- 1730), 7. Ishida Gōchō (1910-), 8. Ishida Gōchō (1910-), 9. Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1768), 10. Jiun Onkō (1718-1804), 11. Jiun Onkō (1718- 1804), 12. Tōrei (1721-1792), 13. Nakahara Nantenbō (1839-1925), 14. Jiun Onkō (1718- 1804), 15. Yamada Kensai (act. second half of the 20th century) (Details of the paintings, based on McFarland 1987, selected by Beatrix Mecsi)

Scroll of Arhats (The Believer Inquiring), detail. Painter: Liu Songnian (act. 1170s – early 13th century), Southern Song Dynasty, colours on silk, hanging scroll, 118.1 x 56.0 cm, National Palace Museum of Taipei (Bo Songnian 1997, no.36)

Buddhist Arhats with Attendants and Worshippers (details) Painter: with the inscription of Lu Lengjia (act. c. 730 – 758) Tang Dynasty, China, but in fact a later copy of the Song Period. Ink and colours on silk, six album leaves, 20 x 53cm, seals of Emperor Hui Zong and Emperor Gao Zong. Palace Museum, Beijing (Hall 1989, p. 23. and Mesnil 1999, p. 68; Fahr-Becker 1999: 135)

Pilgrims Offering Treasures to Arhats. Painter: Zhou Jichang (act. second half of 12th century), Southern Song Dynasty, China, ca. 1178, ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll mounted as panel, 11.5 x 53.4 cm, Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Wu Tung 1996, pl. 27)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Unknown Yuan dynasty painter. China, 13-14th century, ink on silk, hanging scroll, Japanese Private collection (Suzuki Kei 1983: JP12-157)

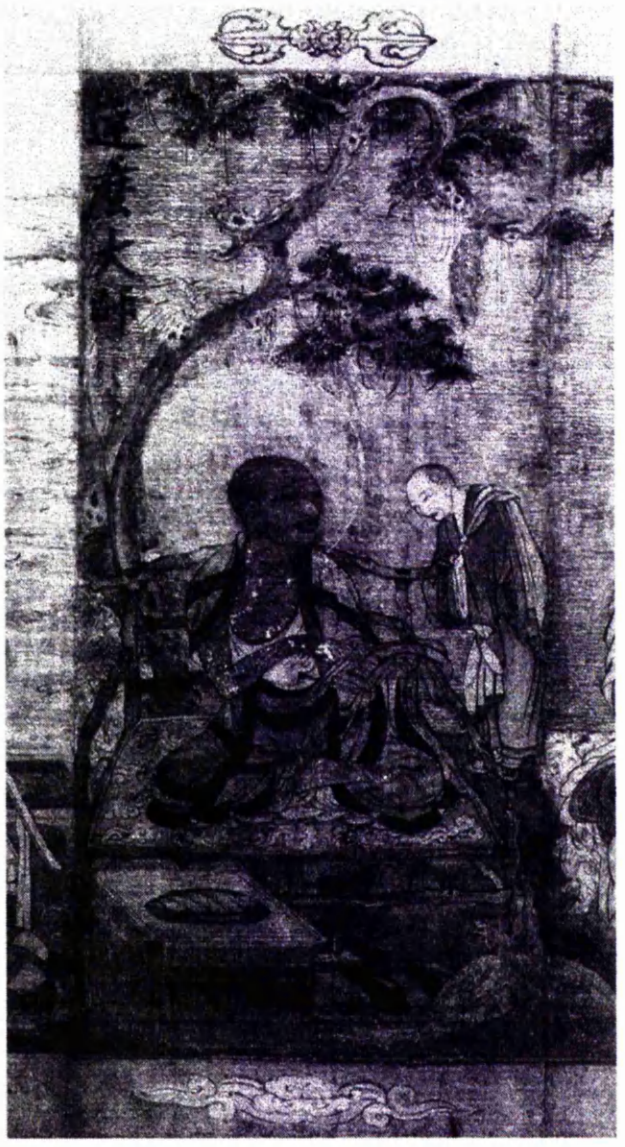
Foreign Princes from the Parinirvāna scene. Middle Tang Dynasty (780-840), China, Dunhuang Cave temple (Dunhuang Bihua, 1959, pl. 172)

Arhat Kanakavatsa. Unknown painter. With the seal of the Byōdō Shinō-in, Saimyō temple, Kyōto. Nambokuchō or Early Muromachi period, ca. 1350-1400, Japan, 105.5 x 40 cm, Honolulu Academy of Arts (Little 1991, pl.12.2)

Two Paintings of the Sixteen Arhats. Colours on silk, Muromachi period, hanging scrolls, 21 x 42 cm, Seishūraigei temple, Ōtsu, Shiga prefecture, Japan (Rakan 1994: no.25)

Chuanfa Zhengzong ji Illustrated scroll. Detail. Copy by Jōen, original by monk Fori Qisong (1007-1072). Copy dated 1154, original dated 1061. MOA (Museum of Art, Atami), formerly Kanchi-in, Tō-ji, Kyōto, Japan (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. fig.109)

Bodhidharma and Huike from Portraits of Patriarchs and teachers from Three Countries. Hand scroll, ink and light colours on paper, Daigō-ji, Kyōto, Japan (Lachman 1993. fig.6)



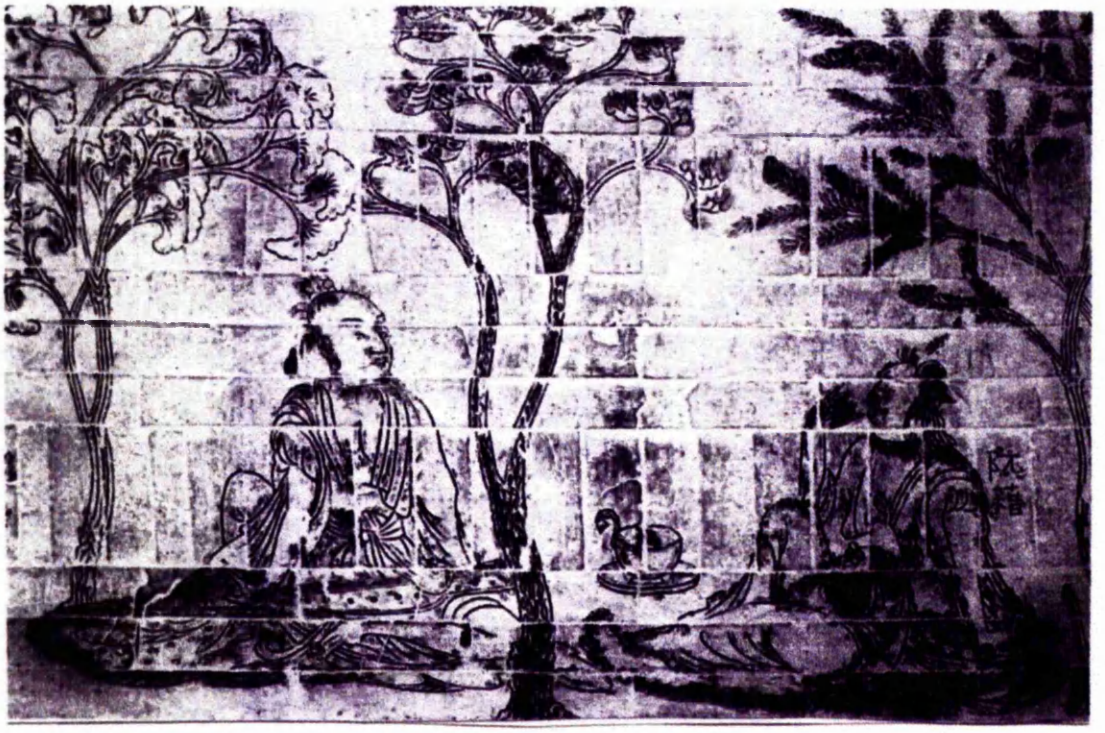
Bodhidharma of the Long Roll of Buddhist Images. Painted by Zhang Shengwen (act. ca. 1173-1176), China (Hou Li, Yunnan, later Li Kingdom), National Palace Museum, Taipei (Chapin 1971:45)

達摩真性頌

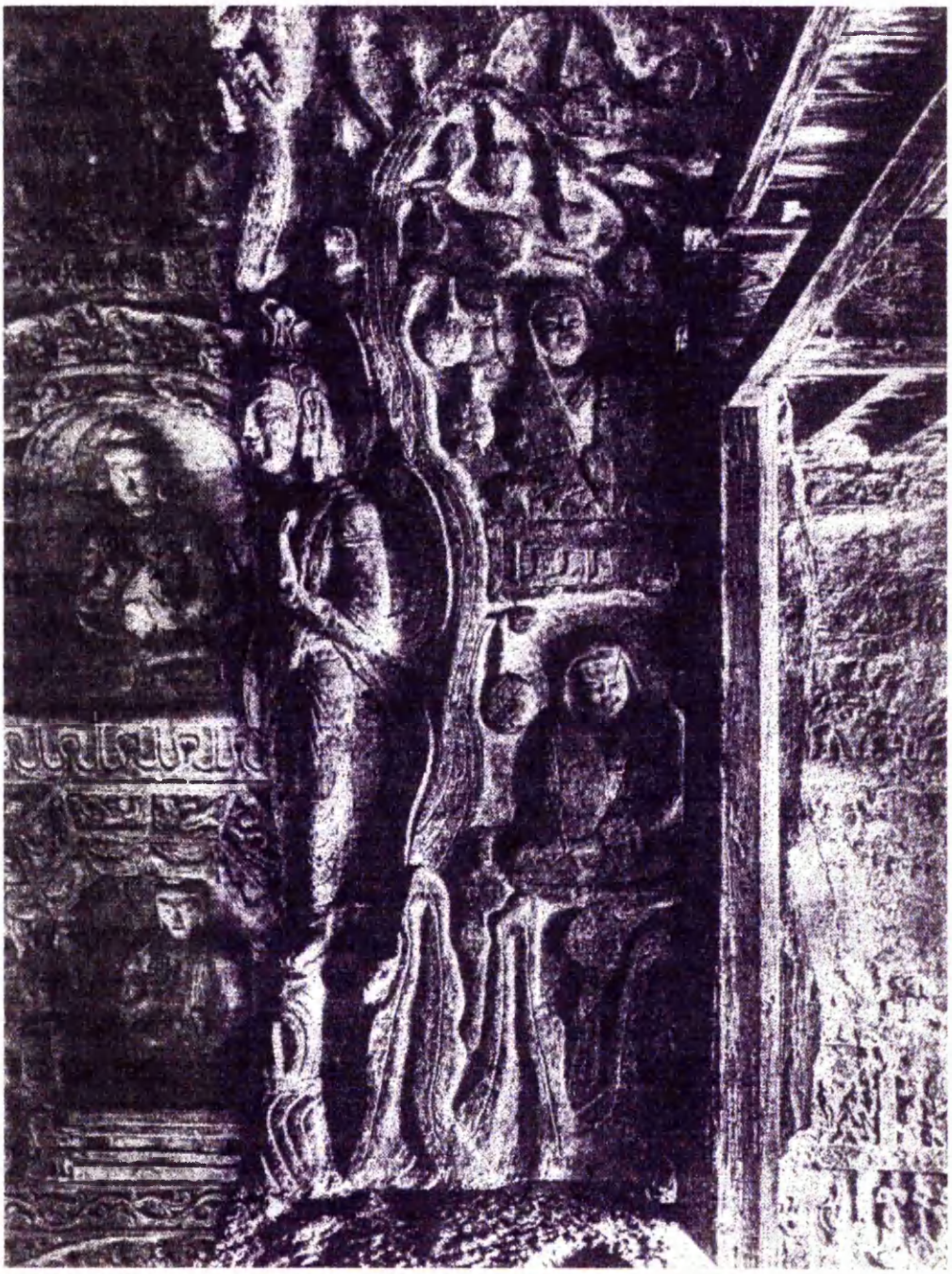
Eulogy for Bodhidharma. Sancai tuhui. Printed in 1610, China (Sancai tuhui, reprint, 1988:355)

Bodhidharma(?) meditating in front of a wall. In the style of Guanxiu (832-912), probably 14th century. Ink on silk, hanging scroll (Kidō 1978. fig.3)

Hanshan, Shide and Fenggan (traditionally identified as Three Arhats). Unknown artist, in the style of Guanxiu (832-912), probably 14th century. Ink on silk, hanging scrolls, each 111.8.x 51.5 cm, Fujita Museum, Osaka (Fontein-Hickman 1970. no.2)



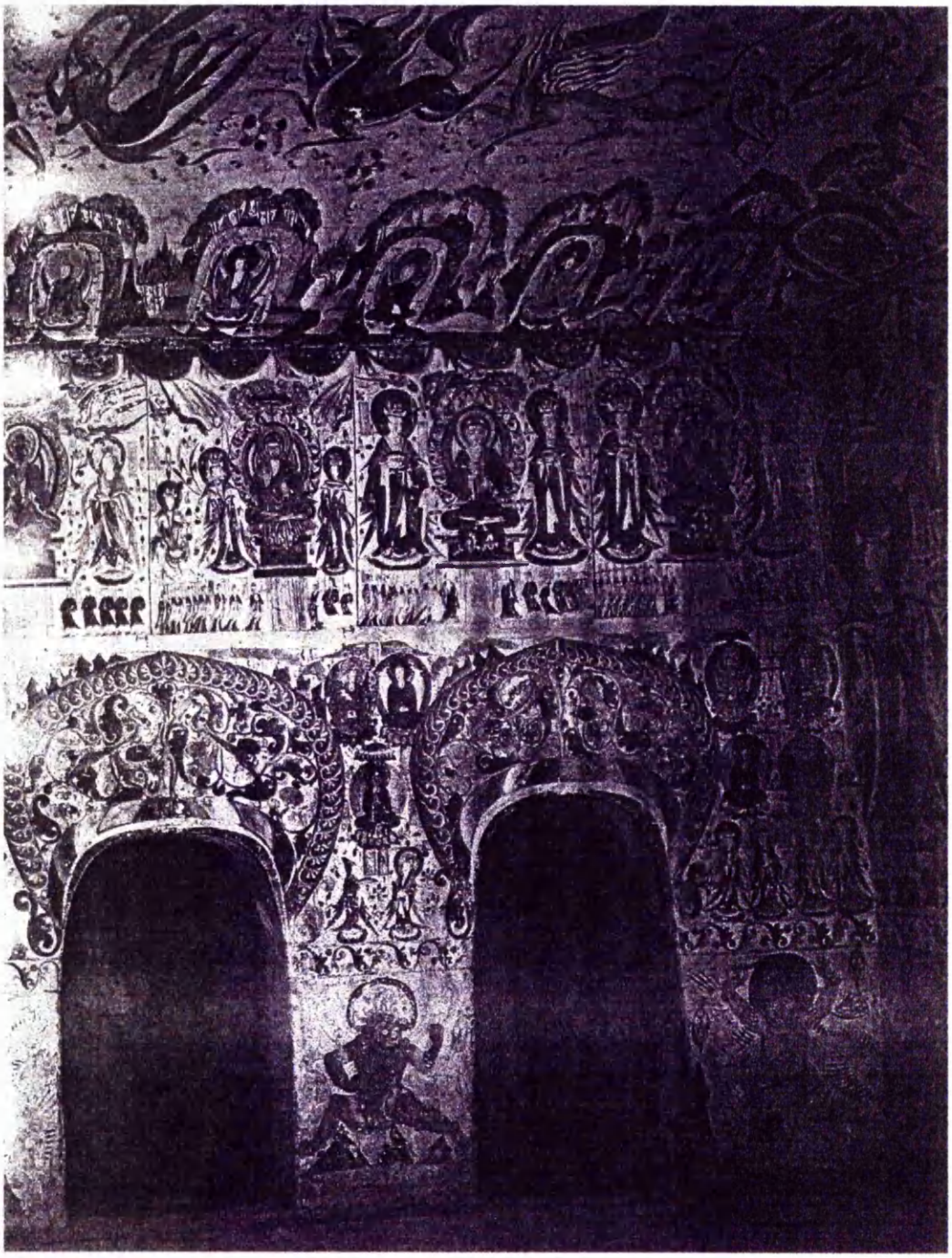
Figures under trees. Detail from a rubbing of a molded-brick relief from a tomb at Xi shan qiao. Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420), China, Nanking, Jiangsu Provincial Museum (Wen C. Fong 1992. fig.16)



Carvings of hooded meditating figures at Yungang cave temples, Shanxi province, China, Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534) (Sudō 1993, fig. 8)

Arhat under a tree. From the set of sixteen arhats. Painter: Guanxiu (832-912), Tang Dynasty, China. Ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll, 90 x 45 cm, Japanese Imperial Collection (Kunaichō: Sannomaru Shōkōzan), Tokyo (Mesnil 1999. fig.5)

Paintings of meditating figures in a cave-like landscape-setting, Dunhuang cave temples, cave 285. Western Wei Dynasty (Whitfield-Agnew 2000:60)



Paintings of meditating figures in a cave-like landscape-setting, Dunhuang cave temples, cave 285. Western Wei Dynasty (Zhongguo Shika 1989 pl. 114)

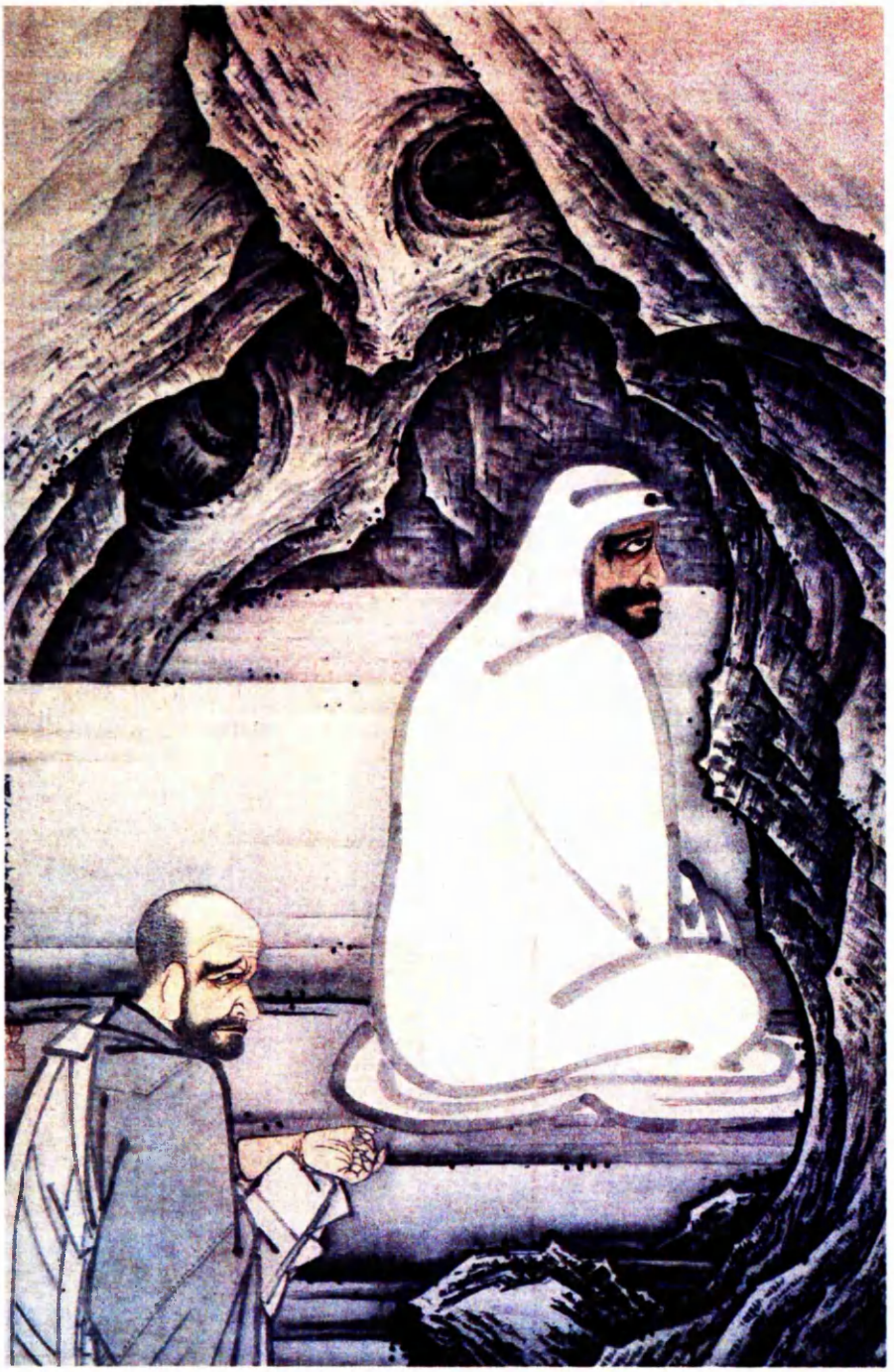
Arhat in a cave. From the set of sixteen arhats. Painter: Guanxiu (832-912), Tang Dynasty, China. Ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll, 90 x 45 cm, Japanese Imperial Collection (Kunaichō: Sannomaru Shōkōzan), Tokyo (Mesnil 1999. fig.5)

Bodhidharma and Huike. Painter: unknown. China, Southern Song Dynasty, late 13th century. Ink on silk, 116.2 x 46.3 cm, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 72.41 (Eight Dynasties 1980, no. 64)

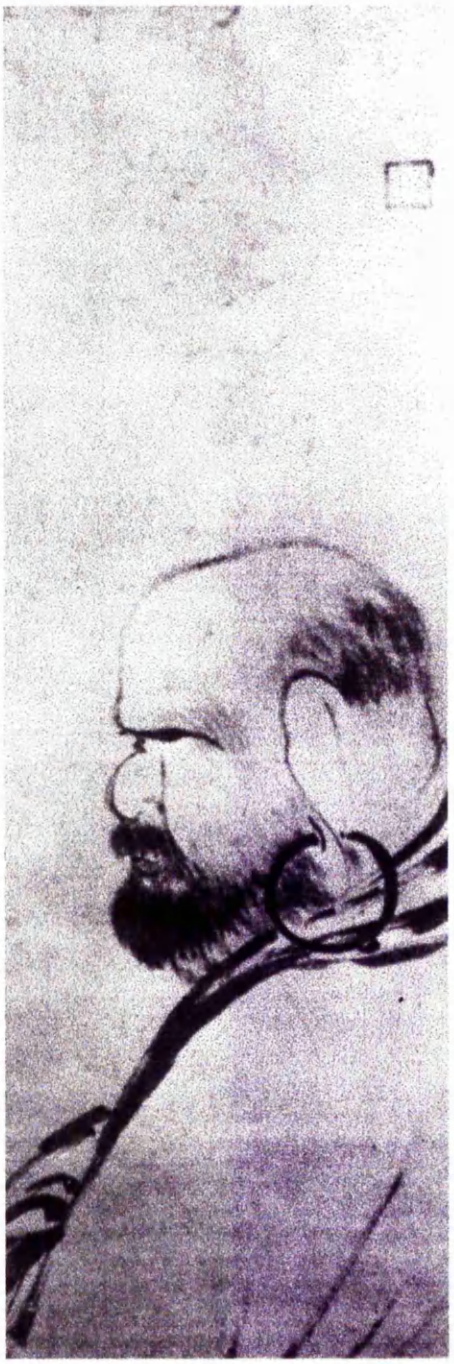
Bodhidharma and Huike (above). Details from 'Eight Eminent Monks'. Painter: Liang Kai (fl.13th c.) Southern Song Dynasty, China, ink and colours on silk, The Shanghai Museum of Art (Shen Zhiyu 1983. pl. 115)

Bodhidharma and Huike. Painter: Dai Jin (1388- 1462), Ming Dynasty, China, ink and light colours on silk, opening section of a handscroll, 39 x 220 cm, ca. 1460, Liaoning Museum, exhibited Beijing, Palace Museum, 1983 (Cahill 1978, fig. 10)

The Third Arhat Kanakabharadvāja. Painter: Lu Xinzhong (act. late 12th, early 13th century) Southern Song Dynasty, late 12th century. Ink, colours, and gold on silk, hanging scroll mounted as panel, 80 x 41.5 cm, William Strugis Bigelow Collection 11.6127. Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Wu Tung 1996.pl. 43)



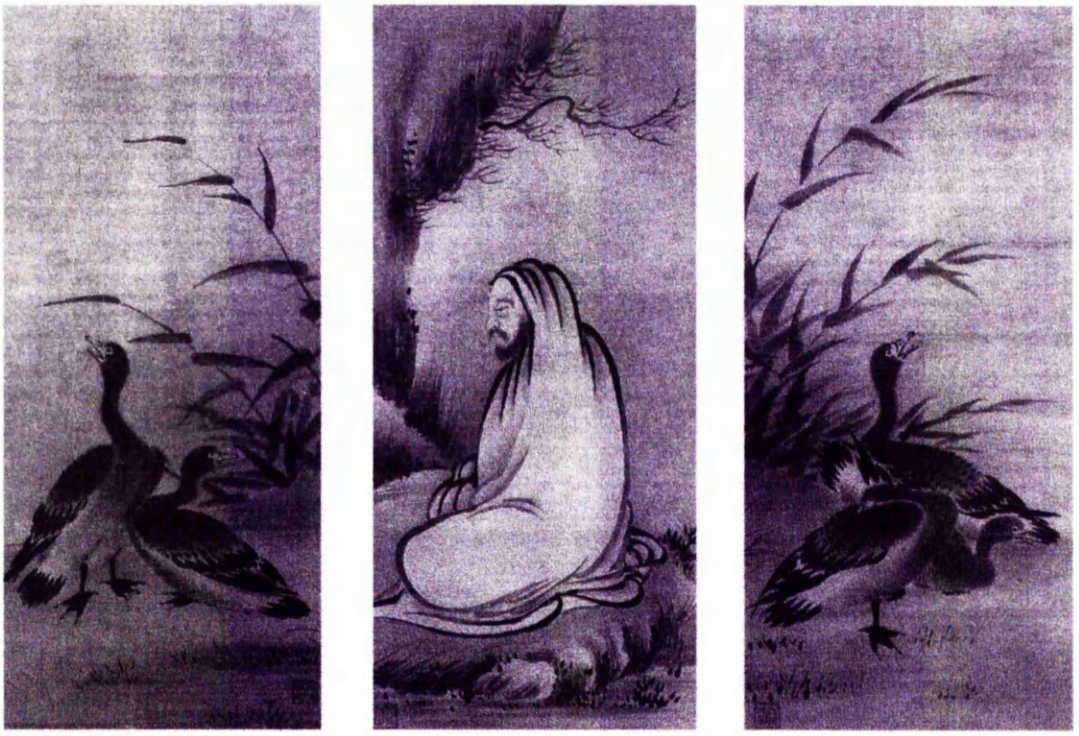
Huike showing his severed arm to Bodhidharma. Painter: Sesshū Tōyō (1420-1506), Japan. Ink and light colours on paper, hanging scroll, 183 x 113.5 cm. Inscription: *Sesshū, "(Occupant of the) First Seat'; dai'ichiza, at the Tiantong [Monastery] of Siming reverently painted this picture at the age of seventy-seven.*
Dated: 1496, painted in China. Sainen-ji, Aichi prefecture, Japan. Important Cultural property [Jūyō bunkazai] (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, pl. 17)



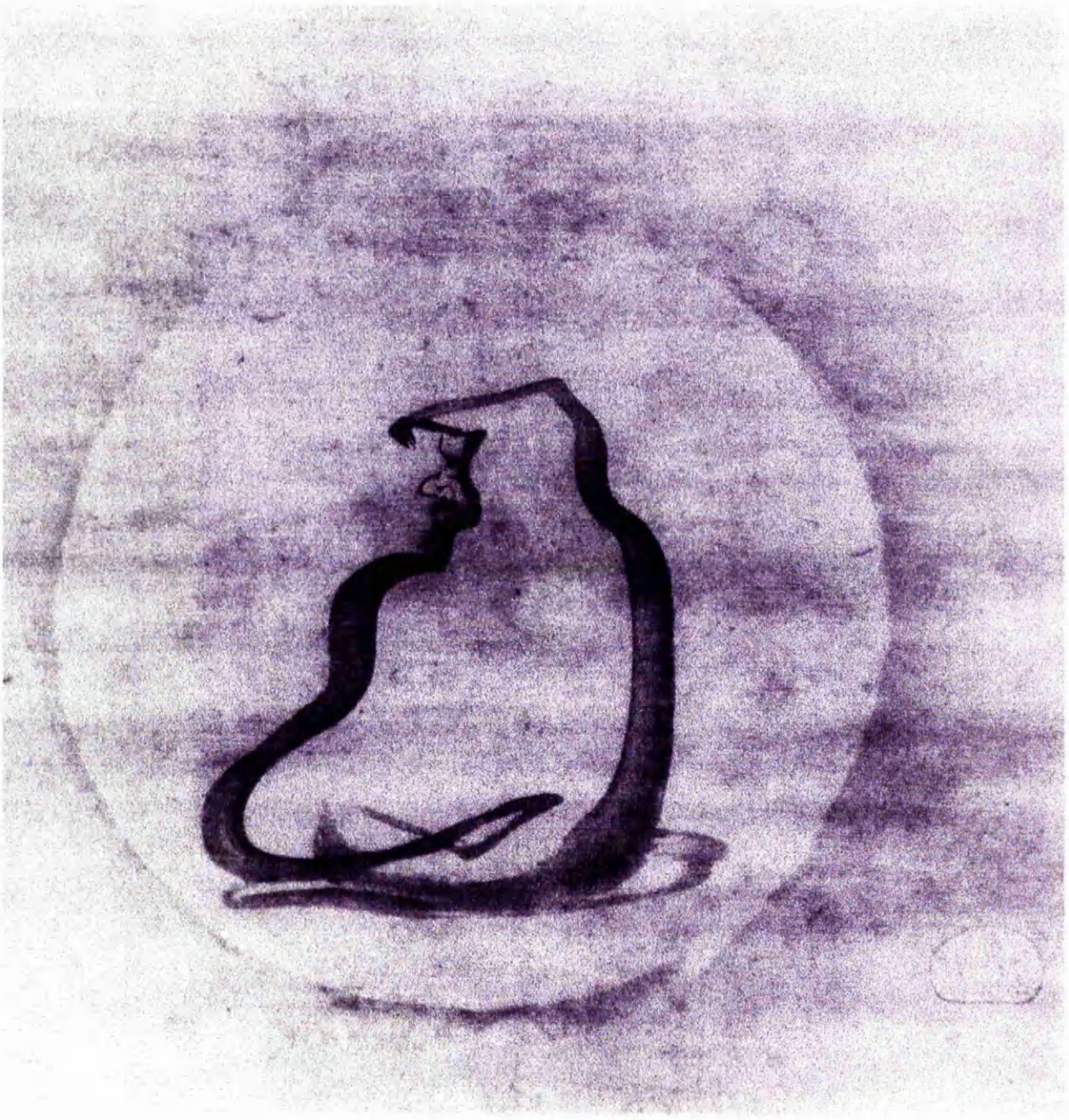
Half-body Bodhidharma in profile.

Painter: Fachang Muqi (act. 13th century, ca. 1210 – 1280), Southern Song Dynasty, China, hanging scroll; ink on paper. 96.4 x 34.2 cm. Tenryū-ji, Kyōto, Japan (Hisamatsu 1971, pl. 62)

Bodhidharma meditating, in profile. Unknown painter, inscription by Yishan Yining (Jp. Issan Ichinei, 147-1317). Ink on silk, hanging scroll. 74.5 x 29.1 cm. Japan (Kanazawa 1979. pl. 112)



Triptych with meditating Bodhidharma in the central panel. In the style of Sōami (1485?-1525). Probably from the Edo-period, Japan. Ink on paper, hanging scrolls, 73.5 x 34.8 cm, Lempertz Auction 843 Cologne 6-7 June 2003. (Lempertz 2003. lot. 695)



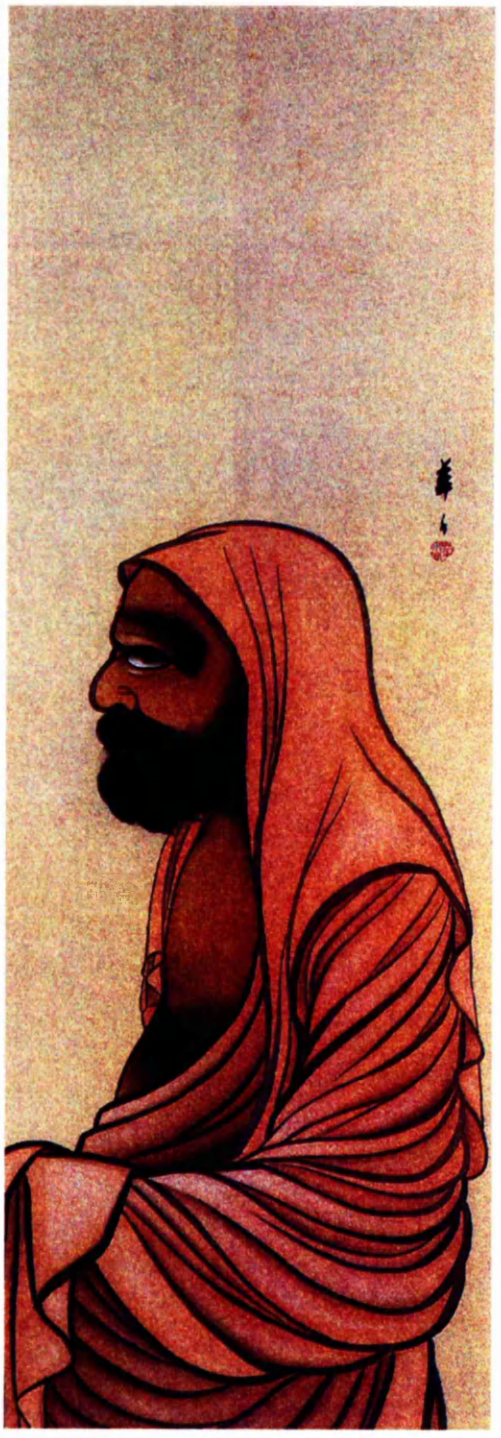
Bodhidharma in a circle. Painter: Isshi Bunshū (1608-1646) ink on paper, Eisai Bunko Foundation, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.33)

Arhats. One side painting from a triptych showing Śākyamuni Buddha (central panel) and the sixteen arhats (side panels). Painter: Shūtoku. Muromachi period, Japan. Ink and colours on paper, hanging scroll, 95.3 x 41.7 cm, Private collection (Watanabe-Kanazawa-Varley 1986. no.43)

Bodhidharma and Huike. Unknown painter, 17th century, China. ink and colours on silk, album leaf, 29 x 34 cm, Hopp Ferenc Museum of East Asian Art, Budapest (Fajcsák 1994, pl.4)

Red-robed Bodhidharma in profile. Painter: Shōritsu Shūtan (1413-1481) inscription: Shun'ya Shūen (1529-1611) Muromachi period, Japan. Ink and colours on paper, Private collection. (Tokyo 1988. no.24)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seki Seisetsu (1877-1945), inscription refers to the whisk as a symbol of the Zen master:
"In the wilderness under the autumn sky no one travels.
When the horsehair [whisk] from the East arrives,
Who is it?"
Ink on paper, 24.2 x 36.3 cm, Private Collection (Seo-Addiss 1998. pl.76)

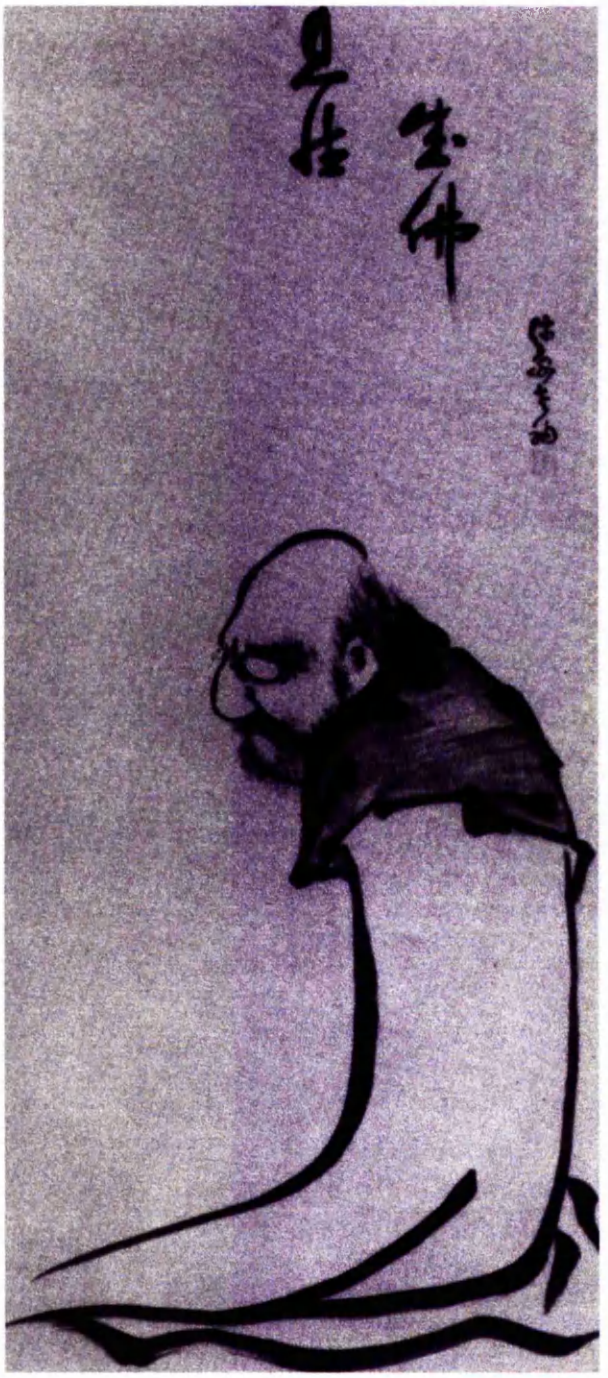


"Enlightened Daruma" Painter: Tsuji Kakō (1870-1931) colours on silk, hanging scroll, 123.1 x 42.6 cm, dated 1919, Hakutakuan Collection, Japan (Berry 2001, pl.32)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) inscription:

"I have always got an eye on you!"

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 89.6 x 26.7 cm, second half of the 18th century, The Gitter Collection. (Stevens-Yelen 1990. pl. 14)

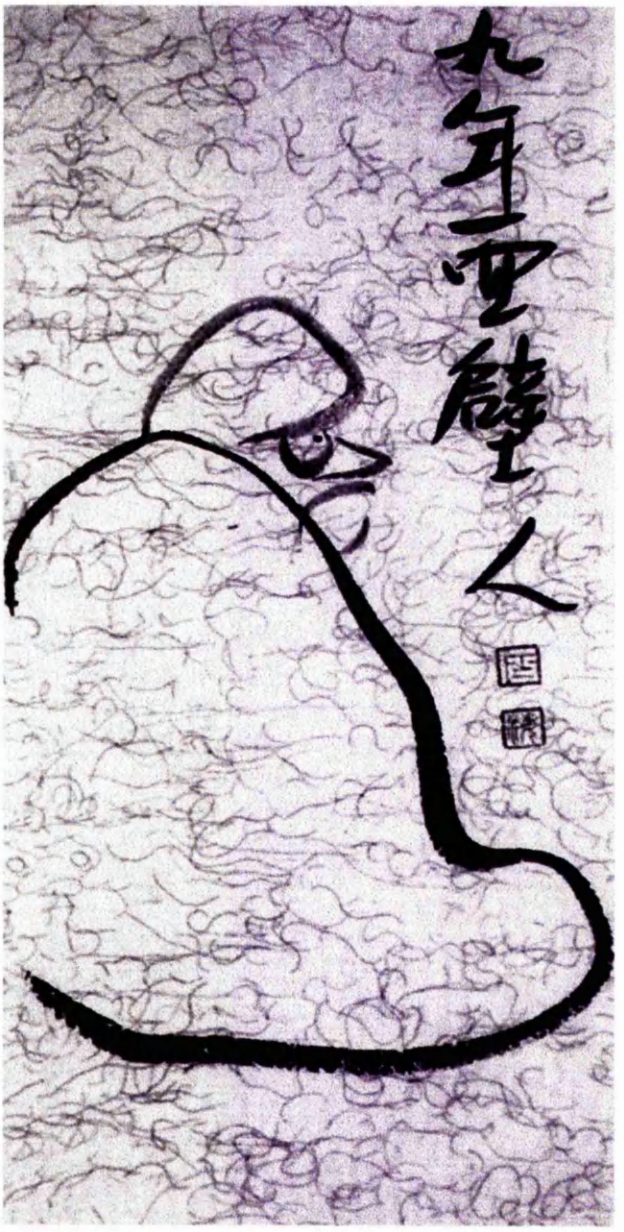


Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Suiō Genrō (1716-1789). Inscription:
"Seeing one's nature, becoming Buddha
(signed) the old monk Futō." (Omori-Terayama 1983: 70)
(Futō was Suiō's pen name)
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, dated 1785. Kōhoin Treasury, Japan (Omori-Terayama 1983. pl. 40)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Ilju Kim Jin U (1883-1950) inscription:
"Bodhidharma great master." (on the right)
"Originally I came to this place to tell everybody the Buddhist law,
And I found myself in a confused situation,
One flower has five petals,
And bears fruit according to its own nature."
Watercolour on paper. Korea. Gansong Museum, Seoul (Choi 1998. pl. 119)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927) ink and colours on paper, 174.5 x 88.5 cm. Second half of the 20th century (Seok-Jeong 1996. pl.11)

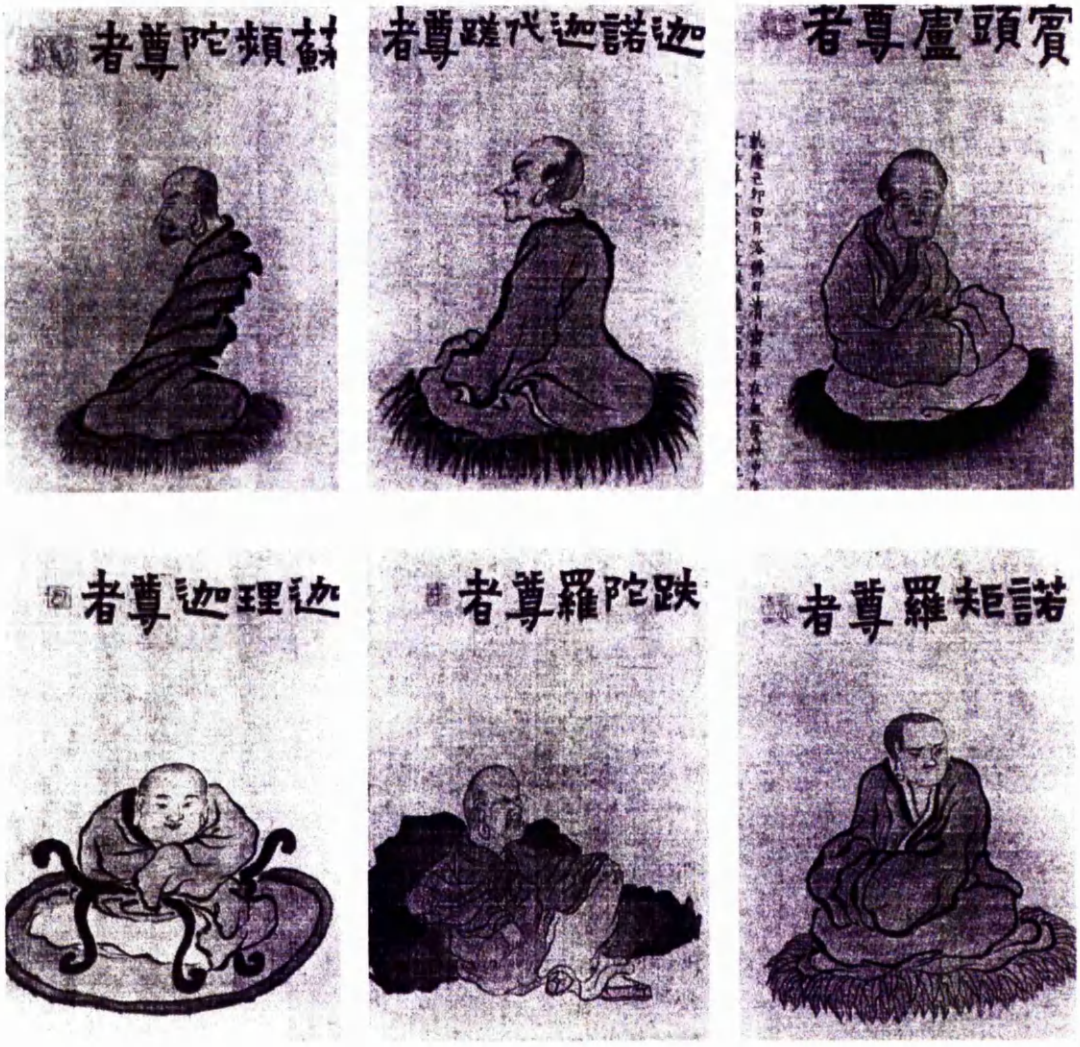
Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927) ink and colours on paper. 93.5 x 31 cm. Second half of the 20th century. (Seok-Jeong 1996, pl.40)



Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927)
ink on paper, 35 x 15 cm. Second half of the 20th century (Seok-Jeong 1996, p.195)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927) ink on paper, 130 x 33 cm. Second half of the 20th century (Seok-Jeong 1996. pl.107)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Wu Chang shuo (1844-1927) ink and light colours on paper, 66 x 49 cm. Dated 1897. Taiwan (Masterpieces of Wu Chang shuo, Qi Baishi and Fu Baoshi 1990. p.16)



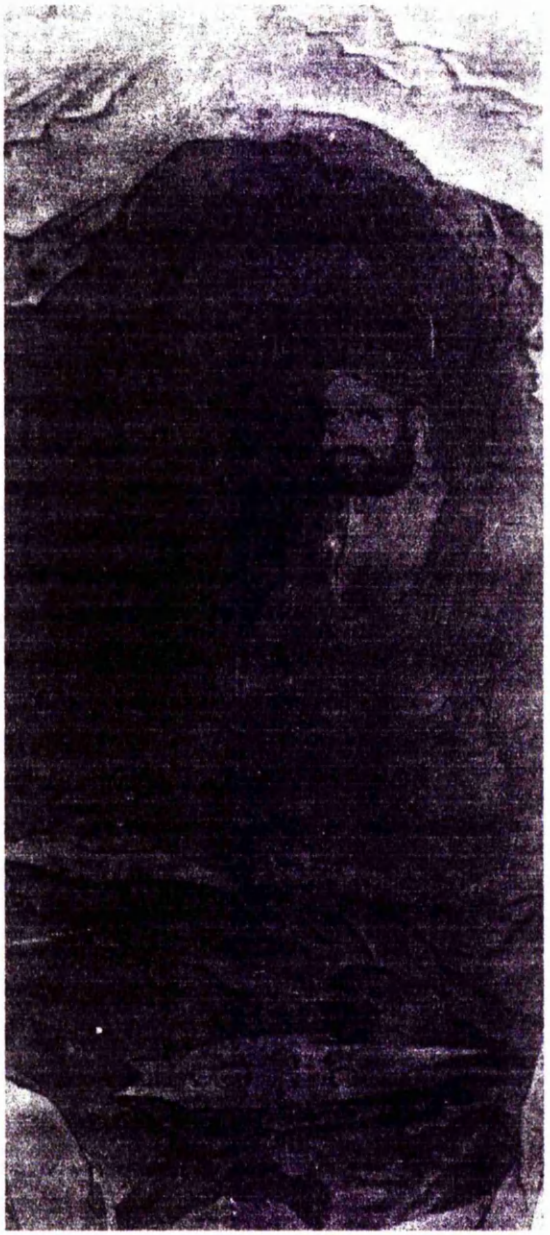
Arhats (details from a set of sixteen arhats). Painter: Jin Nong. Qing dynasty China. Ink and light colours on paper, Album leaves. Matazaemon Collection, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JP 64-105)

Bodhidharma on a reed, and carrying one shoe. Painter: Wu Chang shuo (1844-1927) ink and light colours on paper, 54 x 122.5 cm. Dated 1914, China (Choi 1995. pl.78)

Bodhidharma in front of the wall. Painter: Fan Zheng (b. 1938) colours on paper, 68.5 x 68 cm, dated 1981 (Choi 1995.pl. 46)

Bodhidharma as a Patriarch (from the set of the six patriarchs of the Chan school). Unknown painter. With the inscription of Xiqian Zitan (1241-1306). Hanging scroll. Myōshin-ji, Kyōto (Brinker 1973. fig. 35.a)

Bodhidharma as a Patriarch. 15th century copy from the previous (plate 61) painting. Hanging scroll. Myōshin-ji, Kyōto (Brinker 1973. fig. 37.a)



Bodhidharma and Huike. Attributed to Li Gonglin (ca. 1047-1106) colours on silk, hanging scroll. Northern Song period China. Tenryū-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. pl.4)

Portrait of an unknown Chan master (traditionally ascribed to Zhang Sigong and the subject matter identified as the Tang dynasty priest Bukong, 705-774). Unknown painter. Ink on silk, hanging scroll. Kōzan-ji, Kyōto (Barnhart 1993. fig.4)

Bodhidharma and Huike. Painter: unknown. Probably 20th century, Korea, Haeinsa Monastery. Mural painting (Byeok'hwaro poneun bulgyo iyagi 1996)

Bodhidharma and Huike. Unknown Korean painter, 20th century (Kim Na-mi 2000. no.27)

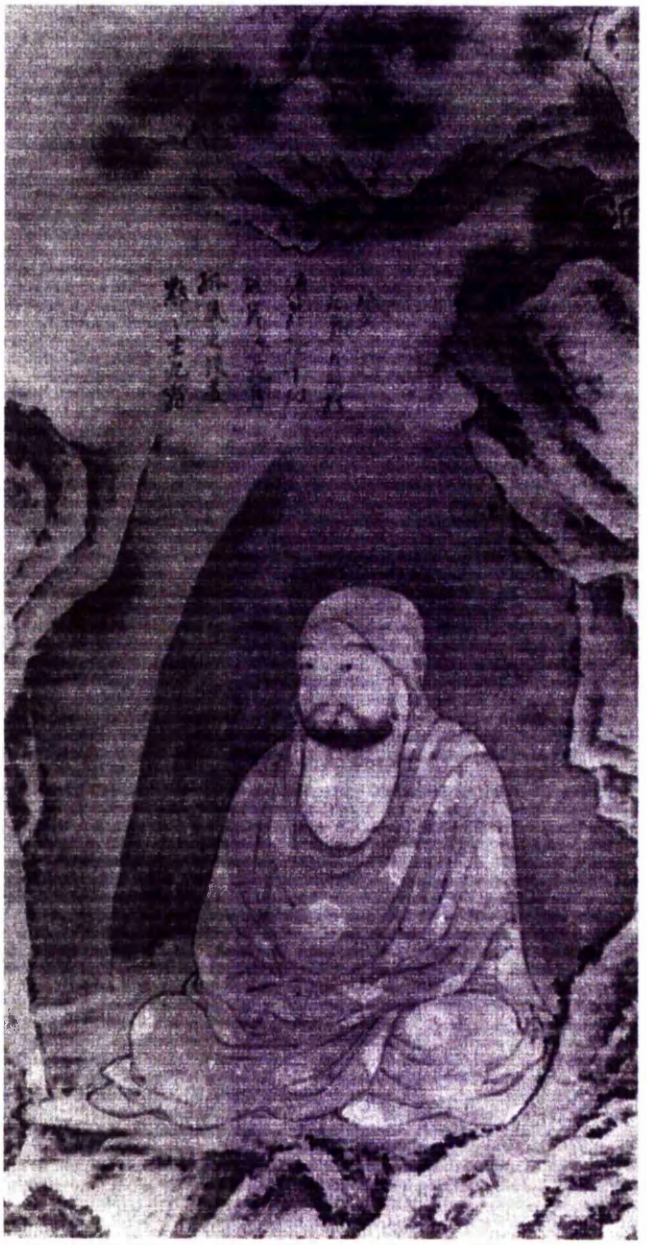
Arhat Kanaka Bharadvāja (from a set of sixteen arhats). Attributed to Yan Hui. Yuan Dynasty period, China. colours on silk, hanging scroll. Eigen-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT-108-006)

Arhat Kanaka Bharadvāja (from a set of sixteen arhats). Attributed to Minchō (1352-1431). Japan. Colours on silk, hanging scroll. Hakurin-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 139-001)

Arhats (from a set of five hundred arhats). Painters: Song Lin Tinggui and Zhou Jichang (Southern Song Dynasty, China) colours on silk. Hanging scroll. 11.5 x 53.4 cm, ca. 1178. Daitoku-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 10-001)

Arhat Chūdapanthaka (from a set of sixteen arhats). Unknown painter. With the seal of the Byōdō Shinō-in, Saimyō temple, Kyōto. Nambokuchō or Early Muromachi period, ca. 1350-1400, Japan, 105.5 x 40 cm, Honolulu Academy of Arts (Little 19991.pl.12.16)

Arhat with snake and sparrows. Unknown painter from the Muromachi Period, Japan. (from a set of sixteen arhats) colours on silk, hanging scroll. Jōshōkō-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 102-002)



Meditating Bodhidharma. Attributed to Yan Hui (Yuan dynasty China), inscription by Mushō Seishō (?) (1234-1306) hanging scroll. Rokuen-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.2)

Red-robed Bodhidharma. Painter unknown, inscription by Lanqi Daolong (1231-1278). Painting executed ca. 1271, probably in Japan, ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll, 104.8 x 46.4 cm.

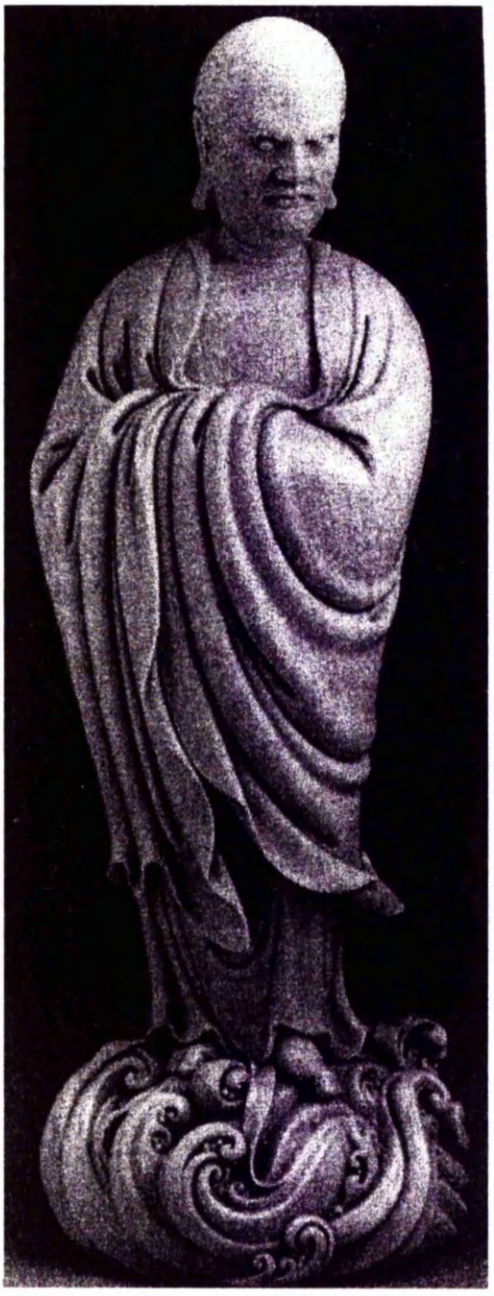
Inscription:

He was the youngest son of King Hsiang-chih
And follower of Prajnātāra's eminent line.
He studied [the tenets of] the Buddha
Destroying the heretical views of the Six Sects
He came to China, and the strange five-petaled flower blossomed
The fragrant doctrine was transmitted on to Japan
The auspicious signs like sands of the river.
The original spiritual sprout of the Shao-lin flourished
And transplanted to the noble line abroad, An extraordinary flower grew.
Respectfully written for Rōnen-koji.
Lan-ch'i Tao-lung of the Kenchōji.

Kōgaku-ji, Yamanashi Prefecture Registered National Treasure (Kanazawa 1979, pl.1)

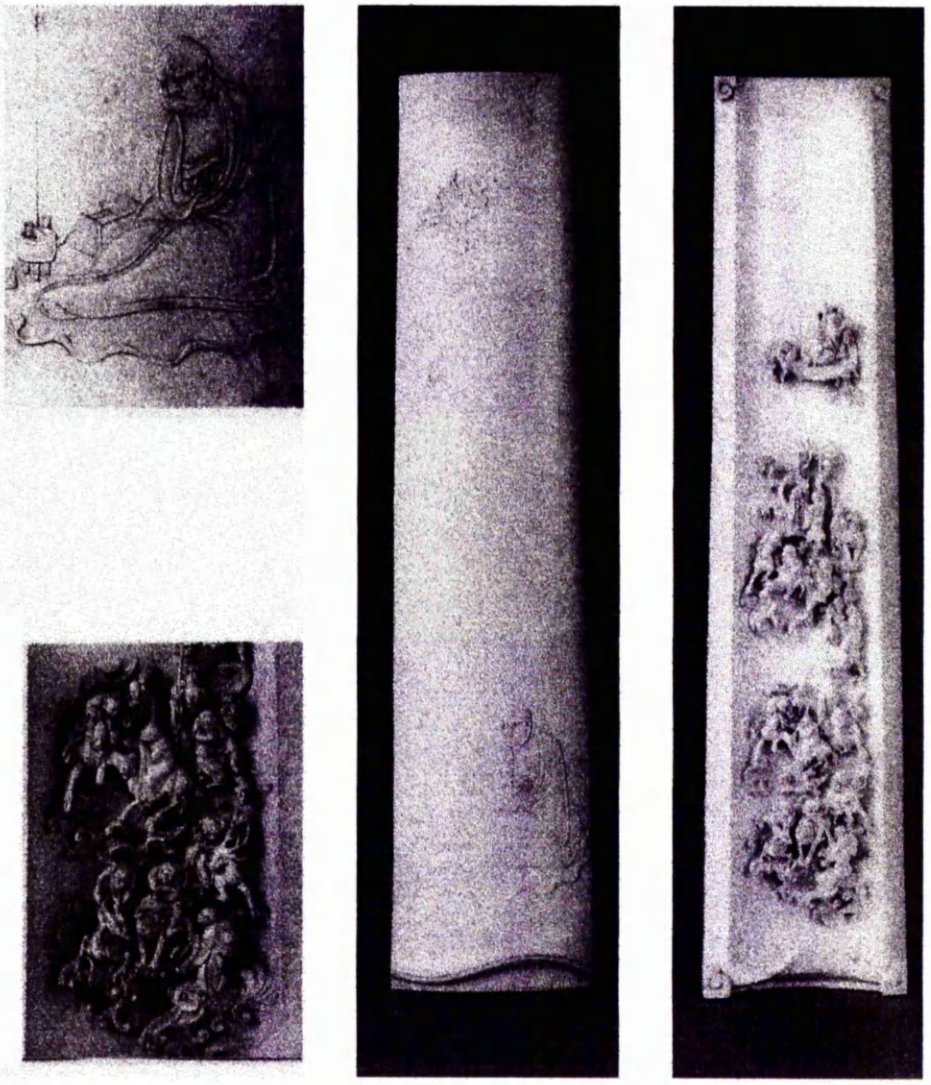
Bodhidharma Meditating on a rock plateau under a Pine tree. Painter: unknown. Inscription by Yishang Yining (Jp. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317),Early 14th century. Japan. Yishang Yining was a Chinese monk who came to Japan in 1229 as a delegate from Yuan China. He became the abbot of Nanzen-ji, Kyoto.
Ink and light colours on silk, hanging scroll, 99 x 50,4 cm, executed before 1317, Tokyo National Museum (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, fig. 103)

Bodhidharma in frontal view. Unknown artist. Rubbing from an undated stele. Shaolin monastery, Songshan, Henan province, China (Tokiwa Daijō and Sekino Tei, Shina Bunka sheseki. Tokyo 1939-41, vol.2. pl. 96)



Dehua porcelain figure of Bodhidharma. Second half of the 17th century. Height: approx.30 cm. Beijing Palace Museum (Lachman 1993, fig.3)

Dehua porcelain figure of Bodhidharma. Second half of the 17th century. Height: 26.5 cm. Percival David Foundation, London, reg. no. PDF 413. (postcard)



Bige arm rest with low relief design of Bodhidharma on obverse and Milefo with retinue and sixteen arhats on reverse. Lenghth 28 cm, width 5cm. Beijing, Palace Museum (Weng-Boda 1982. fig.190)

Bodhidharma flanked by the Daoist Immortals Li Tieguai (right) and Xiama (Liu Haichan) (left). Painer: Minchō (1352-1431), ink and light colours on paper; hanging scrolls, centre: 239 x 149 cm; sides: 230.6 x 118 cm, Late 14th century, Japan, Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto, Japan; exhibited: The Detroit Institute of Arts, October 16 to December 14, 1986; The Honolulu Academy of Arts, January 22 to March 15, 1987, (Watanabe-Kanazawa-Varley, 1986, No. 5)

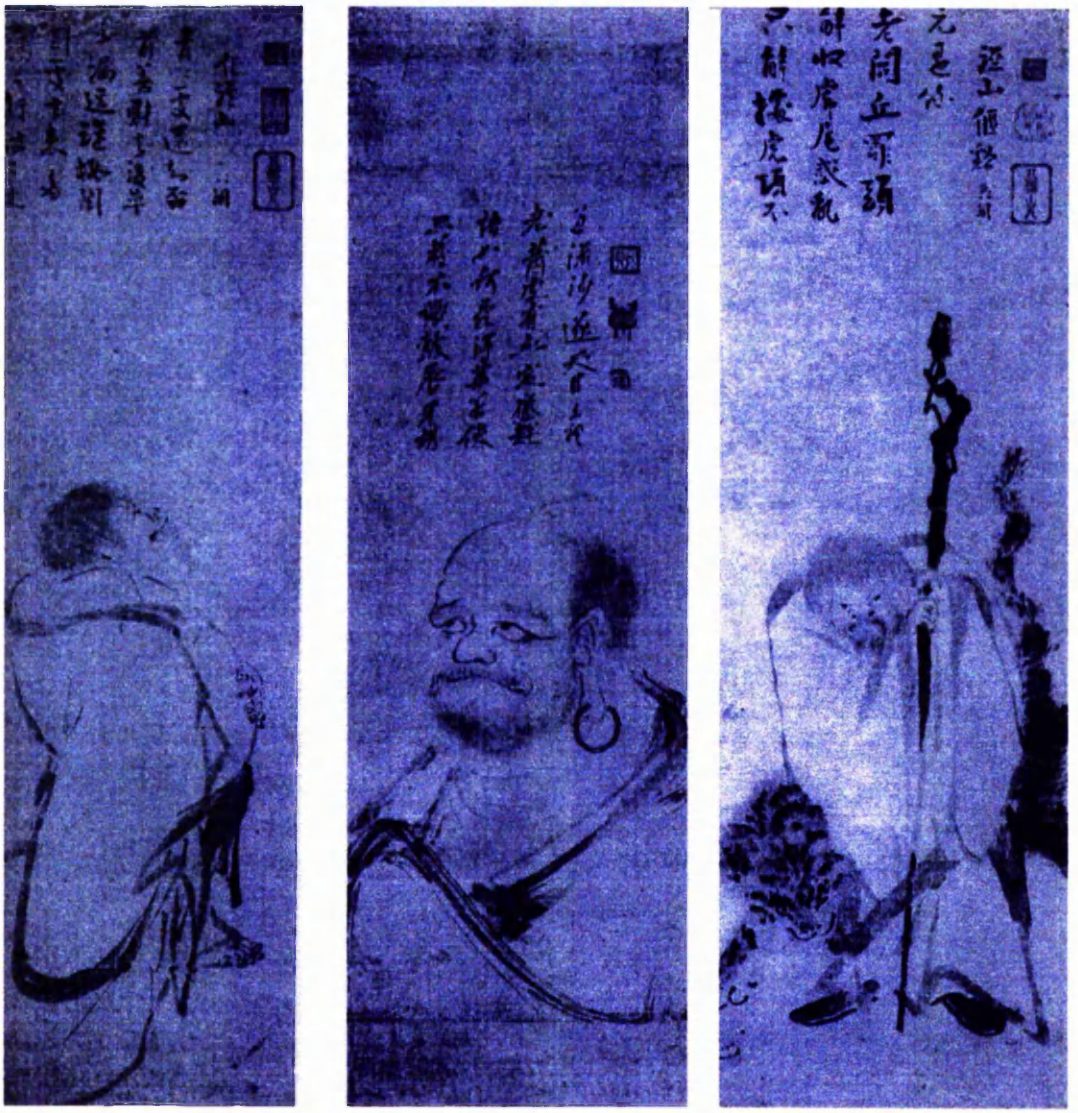
Bodhidharma flanked by the Daoist Immortals Li Tieguai (right) and Xiama (Liu Haichan) (left). Painer: Minchō (1352-1431), ink and light colours on paper; hanging scrolls, centre: 239 x 149 cm; sides: 230.6 x 118 cm, Late 14th century, Japan, Tōfuku-ji, Kyoto, Japan; exhibited: The Detroit Institute of Arts, October 16 to December 14, 1986; The Honolulu Academy of Arts, January 22 to March 15, 1987, (Watanabe-Kanazawa-Varley, 1986, No. 5)

Arhat Kanaka Bharadvāja (from a set of sixteen arhats). Attributed to Minchō (1352-1431). Colours on silk, hanging scroll. Nanbokuchō period, Japan. Jōdō-ji (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 20-002)

Arhat with dragon and praying figure (from a set of sixteen arhats). Attributed to Minchō (1352-1431). Colours on silk, hanging scroll. Nanbokuchō period, Japan. Jōdō-ji (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 20-002)

Arhat with dragon and praying figure (from a set of sixteen arhats). Painter: Wang Shixiang. Ming Dynasty China. Colours on silk, hanging scroll. Dainenbutsu-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 99-003)

Arhat Chūdapanthaka (from a set of sixteen arhats) Attributed to Minchō (1352-1431); colours on silk, hanging scroll, Kōsei-ji, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JT 29-001)



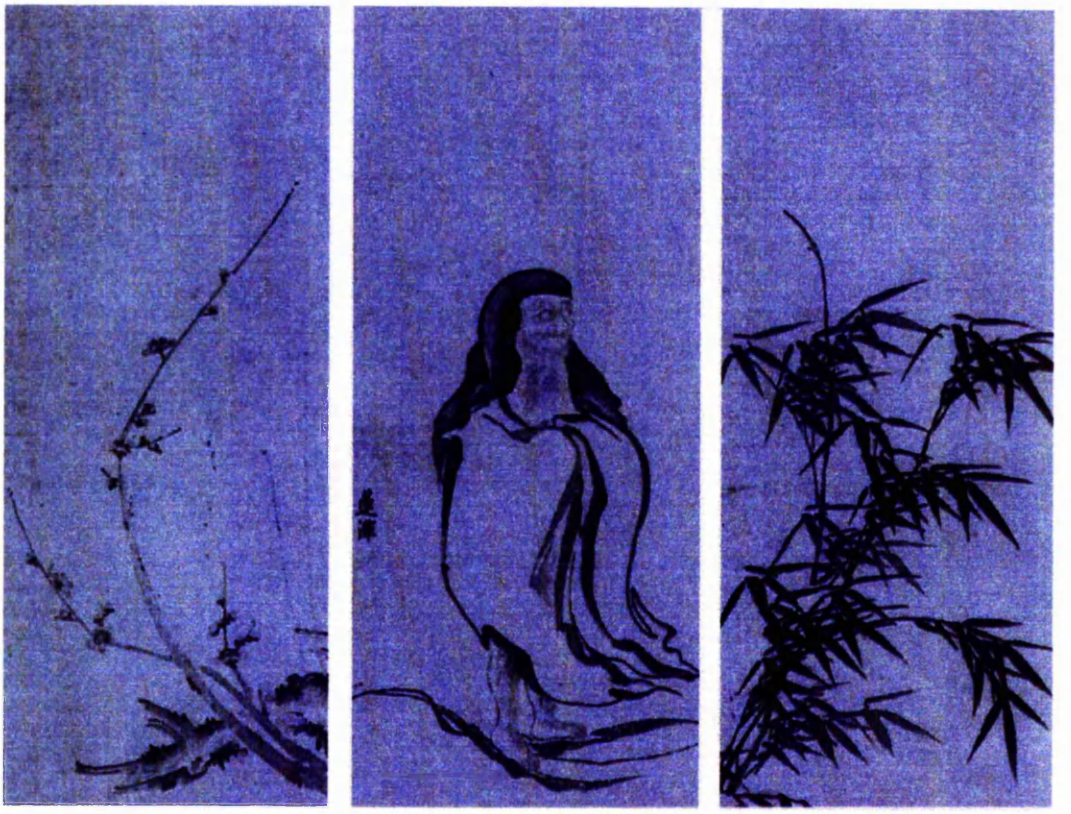
Triptych with Bodhidharma (central panel) and Fenggan and Budai. Unknown painter, inscription on the central panel by Mieweng Wengli (1167-1250). Ink on paper, hanging scrolls, central panel 110.3 x 32.7 cm, Side panels: 104.8 x 32.1 cm. Myōshin-ji, Kyōto (Fontein-Hickman 1970. no.7)

Triptych with Bodhidharma and two monks. Painter of Bodhidharma attributed to Yan Hui (14th century), side panels attributed to Liang Kai (13th century). Central panel: colours on silk, side panels: ink on silk. Hanging scrolls. Myōshin-ji, Kyōto, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983. JT 15-010)

Triptych with Bodhidharma (central panel), Linji and Teishan (side panels). Painter: Obaku Itsunen (1592-1688). Inscription on the Bodhidharma painting:

"This barbarian monk with green eyes certainly talks a lot!
His teeth open to the wind, he is filled with a haughty spirit.
He agitated the Liang emperor, while his own heart became more empty,
Unconcerned, he sat in the cool, near the twin trees by the riverbank."

Ink and colours on paper, each paintig 124.4 x 39.4 cm. The University of Michigan Museum of Art (Addiss 1978. no.2)



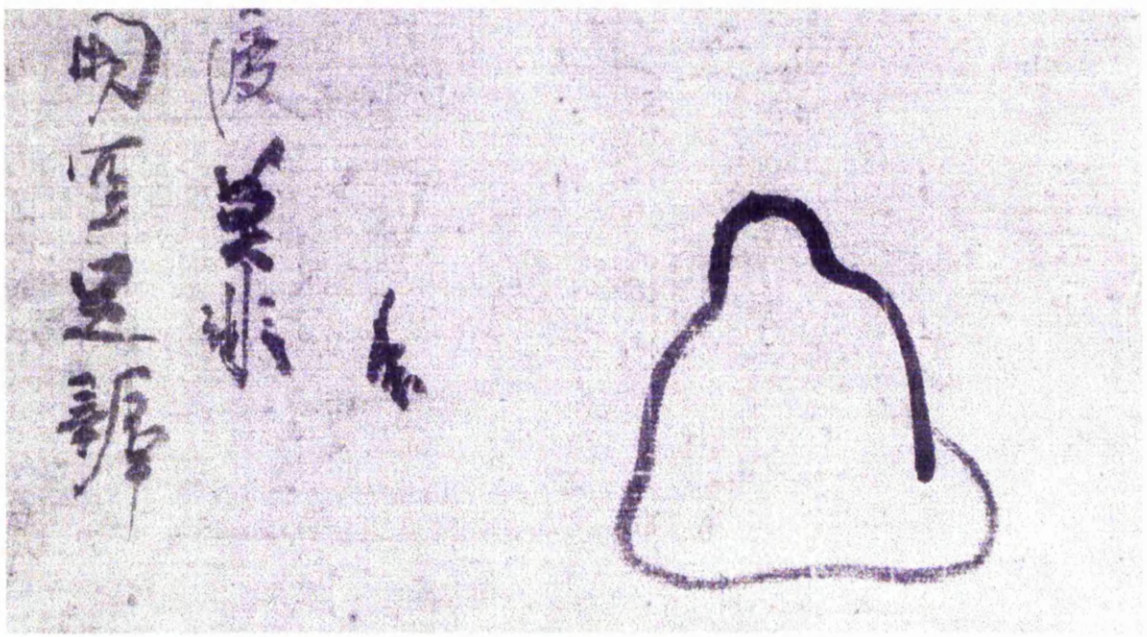
Triptych with Bodhidharma, plum and bamboo. Painter: Kim Myeongguk (1600-1662)
Ink on silk, hanging scroll, 96.6 x 38.8 cm each, Tokyo Nat. Museum (Choi 1998. pl.21)

Bodhidharma in Red Robe. Painter: Ganseki Donsei (?-1376), Japan. Ink and colours on paper, hanging scroll. Inscription:

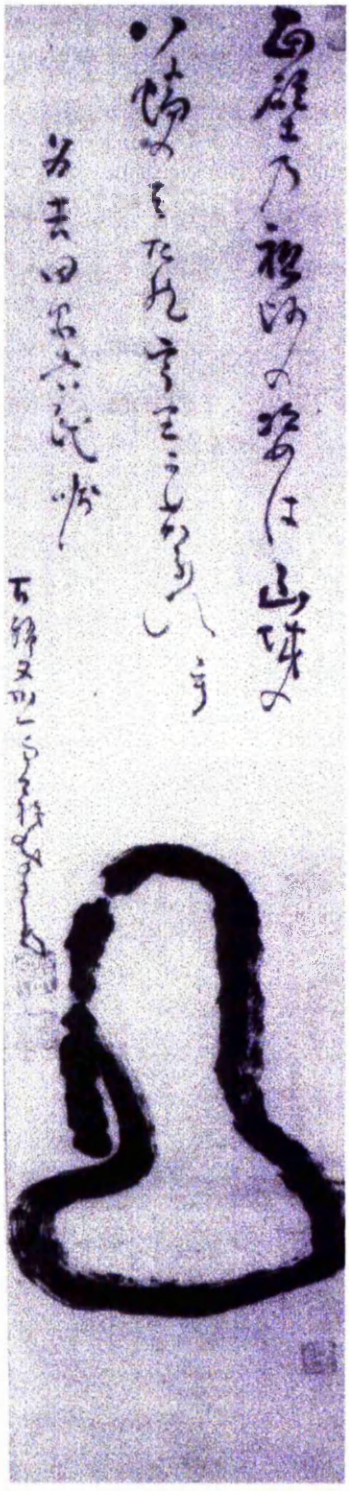
With missing teeth a native from a far land
Secretly broke off a reed,
[His] single message: a direct pointing [to the mind / heart of man]
Everything returns back to the dust.
Ganseki Donsei (was here)

Before 1376. (Kanazawa 1979, fig. 23)

One brushstroke Bodhidharma. Inscription and painting(?): Shōkai Reiken (1315-1396)
"My bed is cold when I'm asleep at night Mulberry-paper cassock, paper mosquito curtain
Following the Dharma, acting as circumstances demand
With my hemp-palm chowry, and goosefoot staff."
The colophon is signed: "Taikō, age eighty."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 65.7 x 32.6 cm. Dated 1394 (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. pl.9)



Meditating Bodhidarma. Painter: Konoe Nobutada (1565-1614), inscription:
"Quietness and emptiness are enough to pass through life without error."
Ink on paper, 33 x 56 cm. Private Collection (Addiss 1989. pl.8)



'Menpeki' Daruma (or wall-gazing Daruma) Painter: Nakahara Nantenbō [Tōjō Zenchū] (1839-1925), inscription:

The form of our Grand Patriarch

Facing the Wall

Or is it a melon or an eggplant

From around Yahata in Yamashiro?

Ink on paper, hanging scroll,133.4 x 31.7 cm, dated 1909. Private collection (Stevens-Yelen 1990. pl.20)

Meditating Bodhidharma in landscape setting. Painter: Gakuō Zōkyū (fl. 1504-1520), Muromachi period monk painter, Japan. Ink and colours, hanging scroll, Private collection (Tokyo 1988. no.15)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Yamamoto Baisō (1846-1921). Ink on paper. Hanging scroll, Daikōmyō-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no. 49)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Yamamoto Baisō (1846-1921). Ink on paper. Hanging scroll, Daikōmyō-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no. 49)

Meditating Bodhidharma in a cave. Painter: Kim Bo'eung. Korea. Ink on hemp. 141 x 95 cm. Before 1920. Baekyang temple, Korea (Kim Na-mi 2000. pl.41)

Meditating Bodhidharma in a cave. Painter: Kim Il-seop (1900-1990); colours on paper, 84.5 x 62 cm. Dated 1941.Korea,. Songgwang temple, Samil-am, bang'u shil (Choi 1995. pl.44)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Yi myeong'u (b. 1923), ink on paper, dated 1972. Private Collection (Choi 1995. pl.45)

Bodhidharma shown from the back. Xianfo qizong [Kor. Hongssi Seonpulgijong] comp. by Hong Yinming. printed book, dated 1602 (Choi 1998. pl.35)

Bodhidharma shown from the back. Sancai Tuhui [Kor. Samjaedohwi] compiled by Wang Qi (1565-1614) and Wang Siyi; printed book, dated 1610 (Sancai tuhui, reprinted 1988)

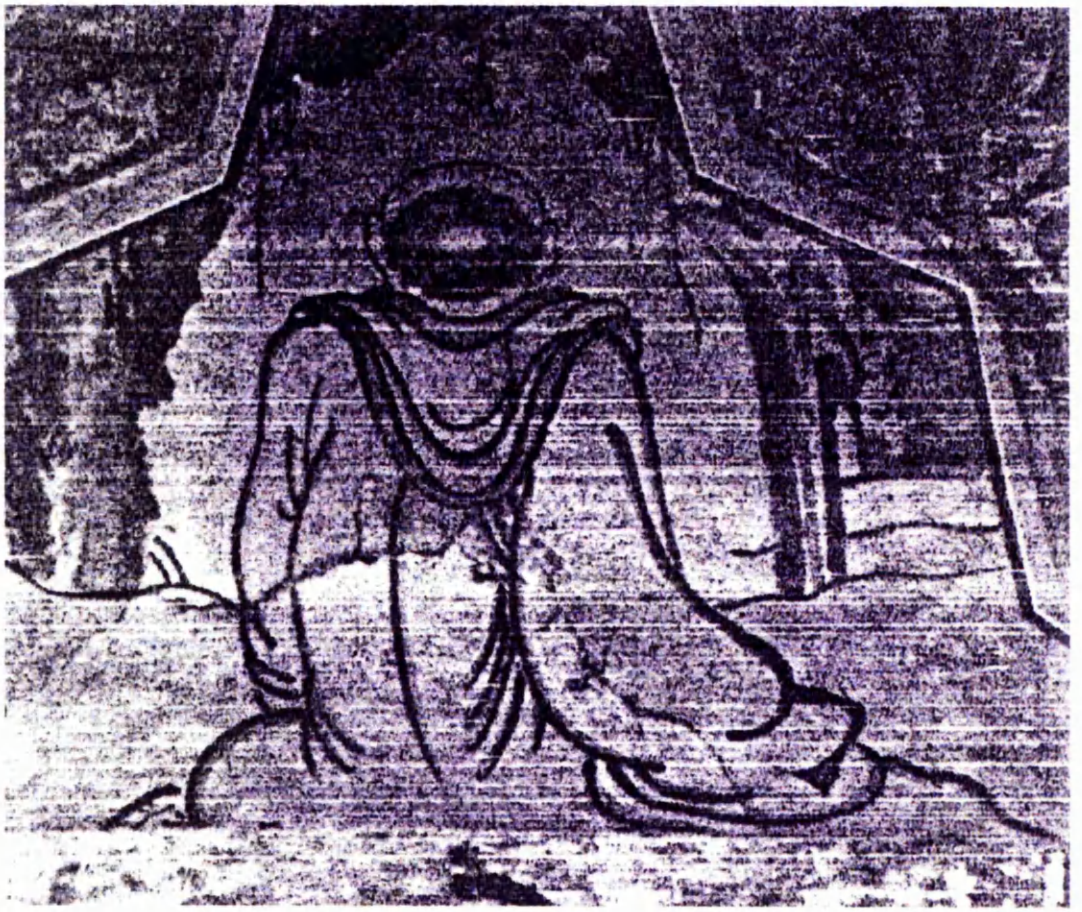
Arhat in front of a rock cliff (from an original set of sixteen arhats). Painter: Liu Song-nien (act. ca. 1175-after 1207), colours on silk, hanging scroll, 117.4 x 56.1 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei (Wen C. Fong 1996. pl.94)

Bodhidharma shown from the back. Painter: Un Limja: Paintings of the fourteen masters- Bodhidharma is the 13th one, inscription by Shin Jeong-ha (1680-1715), Inscription on the Bodhidharma painting:

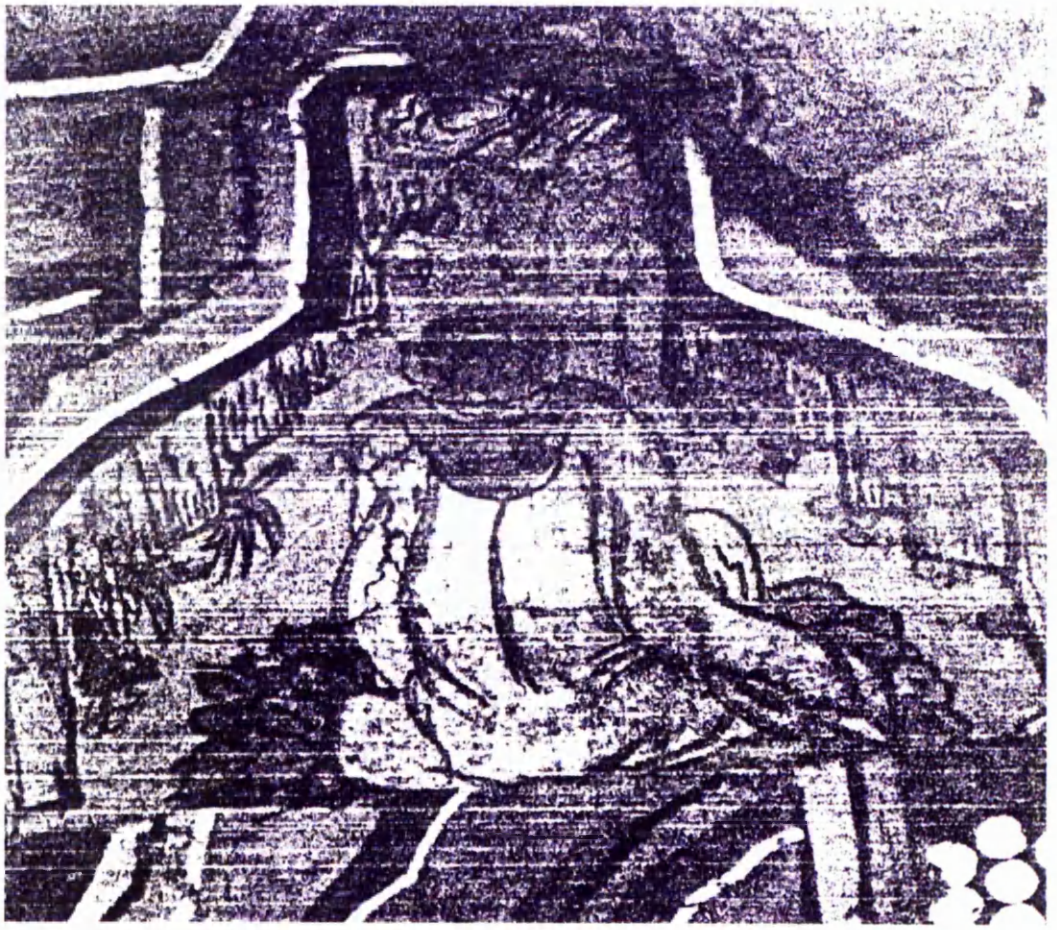
"The patriarch Bodhidharma is sitting under the stone cave,
It speaks without words,
In respect without respect.
He has been meditating in the snowy mountains for a long time
In clear wisdom and wonderful harmony in the air of absolute stillness.
He cannot seek this in the world,
It is only possible with enormous efforts what you cannot acquire."

Colours on paper, 644 x 26 cm, dated 1698, in the collection of Seong Chong Seonsa (Choi 1998:66-74, pl.34)

Bodhidharma as a Patriarch (28th figure) Seon'am-sa, dated 1753, colours on silk, 136 x 235 cm (all together 11 pok) (Cheong Pyeongsam, 2000:194)



Bodhidharma is shown from the back. Wall painting outside on the upper bracket of a temple hall. Mihwang temple, Main Hall, mid. 18th century, South Jolla province, Haenam (Lee Young-Hee 1997: pl.81)



Bodhidharma is shown from the back. Wall painting outside on the upper bracket of a temple hall. Hyeondaeung-temple, Keukrak Hall, beginning of the 19th century, Gyeonggi province, Ga'pyeong (Lee Young-Hee 1997: pl.82)

Bodhidharma as a young boy. Painter: Heo Ryeon (1809-1892). Ink on paper, 125 x 38 cm. Private collection (Choi 1998, pl.56)

Bodhidharma shown from the back. Painter: Seok Jeong (b. 1927) ink on paper, 67 x 27.5 cm. Second half of the 20th century (Seok Jeong 1996, p.147)

Daruma on a Rush Leaf. Painter: Fūgai Ekun [Dōjin] (inscription: Tōmyō) (1568- 1654) inscription:

Here is the symbol of our tradition,

The Great Master,

First Patriarch of China,

And Twenty-eighth in descent from Buddha.

Tōmyō painted while praying

Ink on paper, hanging scroll (61.6 x 26.7 cm), Dorothy and David Harman Collection (Stevens-Yelen 1990, pl.22)

Daruma on a Rush Leaf. Painter: Fūgai Ekun [Dōjin] (inscription: Tōmyō) (1568- 1654)

inscription:

The water in the Liang River becomes shallow,

There is no place to moor a large boat.

Watch him go by on a single reed

His legacy continues to increase and increase.

Ink on paper, hanging scroll (127 x 46 cm),

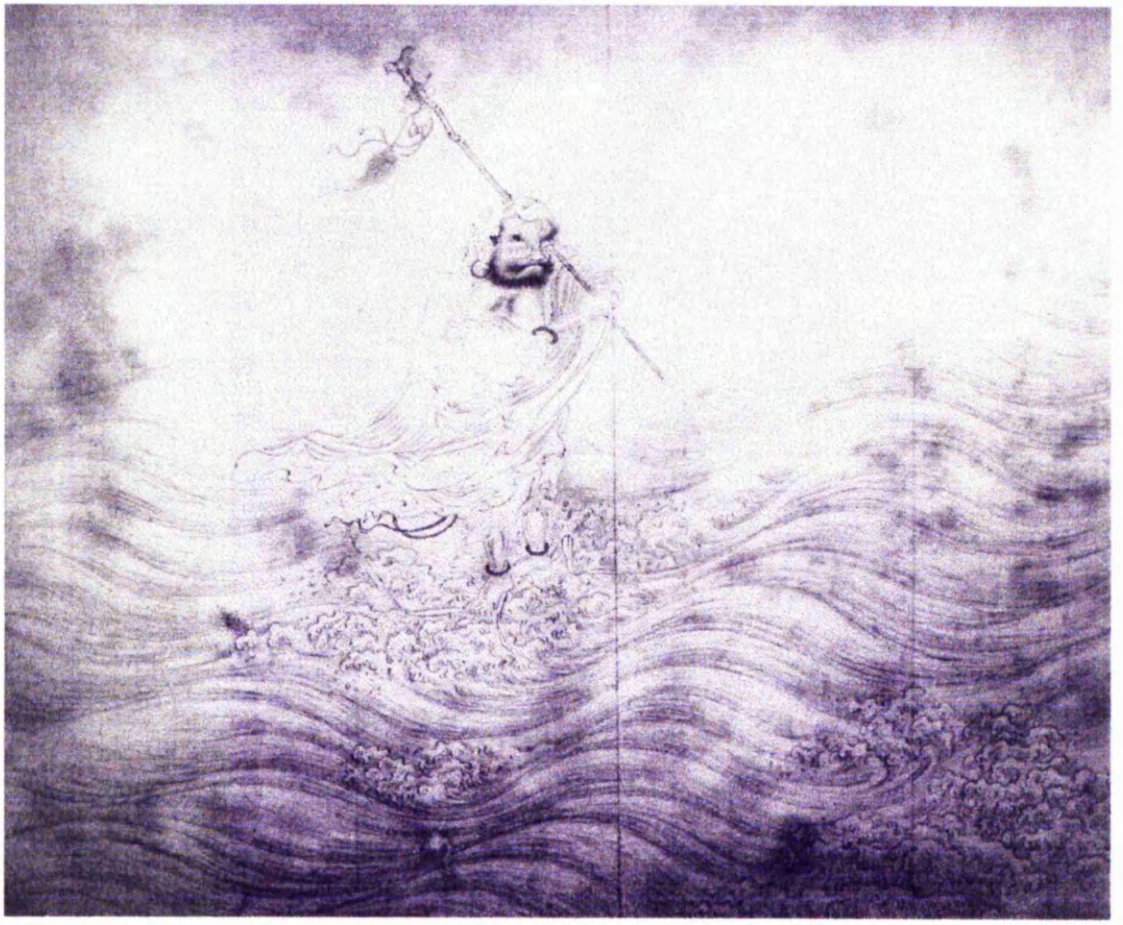
Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kansas

(Addiss 1989. pl. 26)

Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangzi on a Reed, Painter unknown. Inscription by Yishan Yining (Jap. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317) Early 14th century, ink and light colours on silk, hanging scroll, 101 .6 x 40.8 cm. The partly illegible inscription refers to Bodhidharma's "ten thousand mile journey from the West [India]", and alludes to the cryptic, unsucdessful conversation with the Liang ruler, as well as to the unusual "turning of the head" which the anonymous painter has chosen in contrast to most other versions. Before 1317, China / Japan, Jōdō-ji, Shizuoka Prefecture (Fontein-Hickman 1970. no.22)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Unknown painter. Inscription by Qingzhuo Zhengcheng (Jp. Seisetsu Shōchō, 1274-1339) ink on paper, hanging scroll. 94 x 43.4 cm. Dated 1326. Izumi shi Kubōsō Kinen Bijutsukan. (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. no.7)

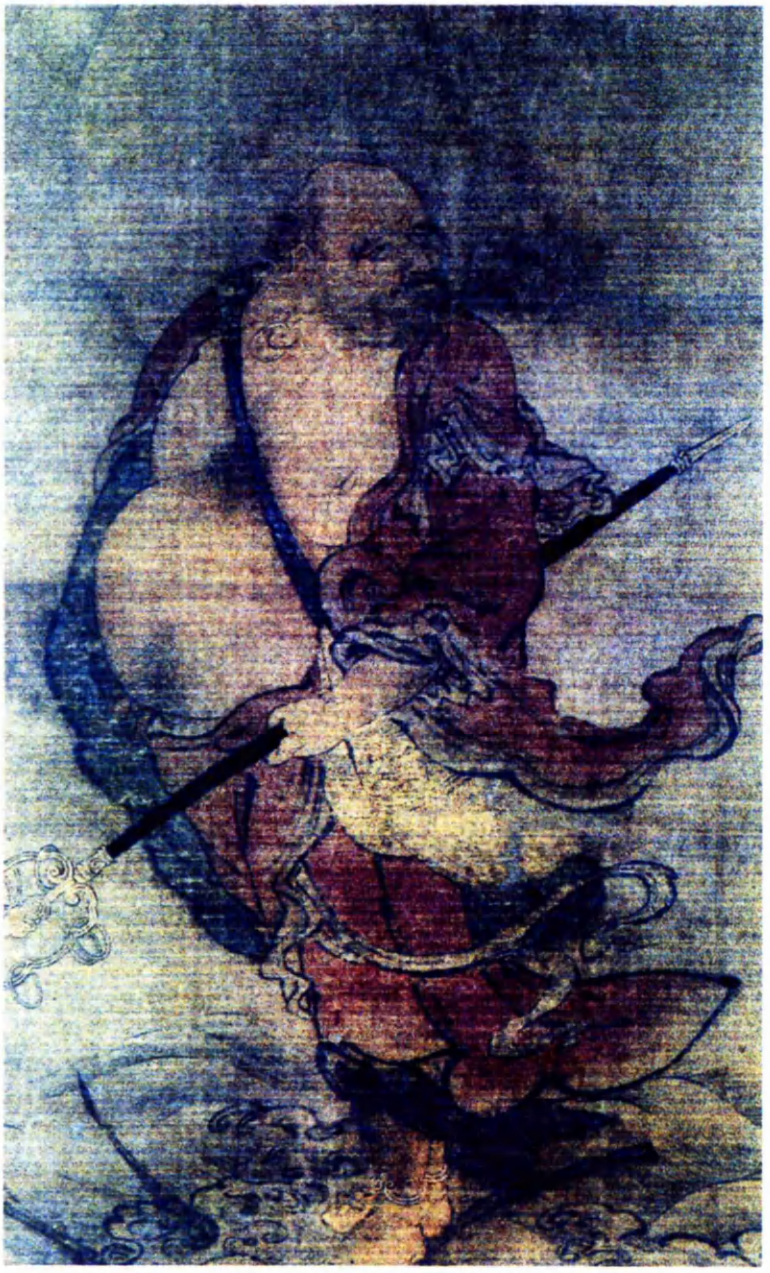
The 17th Buddhist Arhat with a dragon (detail). Painter: with the inscription of Lu Lengjia (act. c. 730 – 758) Tang Dynasty, China, but in fact a later copy of the Song Period. Ink and colours on silk. Six album leaves, 20x53cm. seals of Emperor Hui Zong and Emperor Gao Zong. Palace Museum, Beijing (Hall 1989, p. 23. and Mesnil 1999, p. 68)



Arhat crossing on a reed (from a set of arhat paintings). Attributed to Li Gonglin (ca. 1041-1106) ink on paper, album leaf, Freer Collection. Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. (Meyer 1923. pl. XVI)

112a b

Bodhidharma's Crossing on a Reed. Unknown Yuan painter. Colours on silk, hanging scrolls. Tokiwayama Bunko Collection (Suzuki Kei 1983: JP 1-002, 1/2, 2/2)



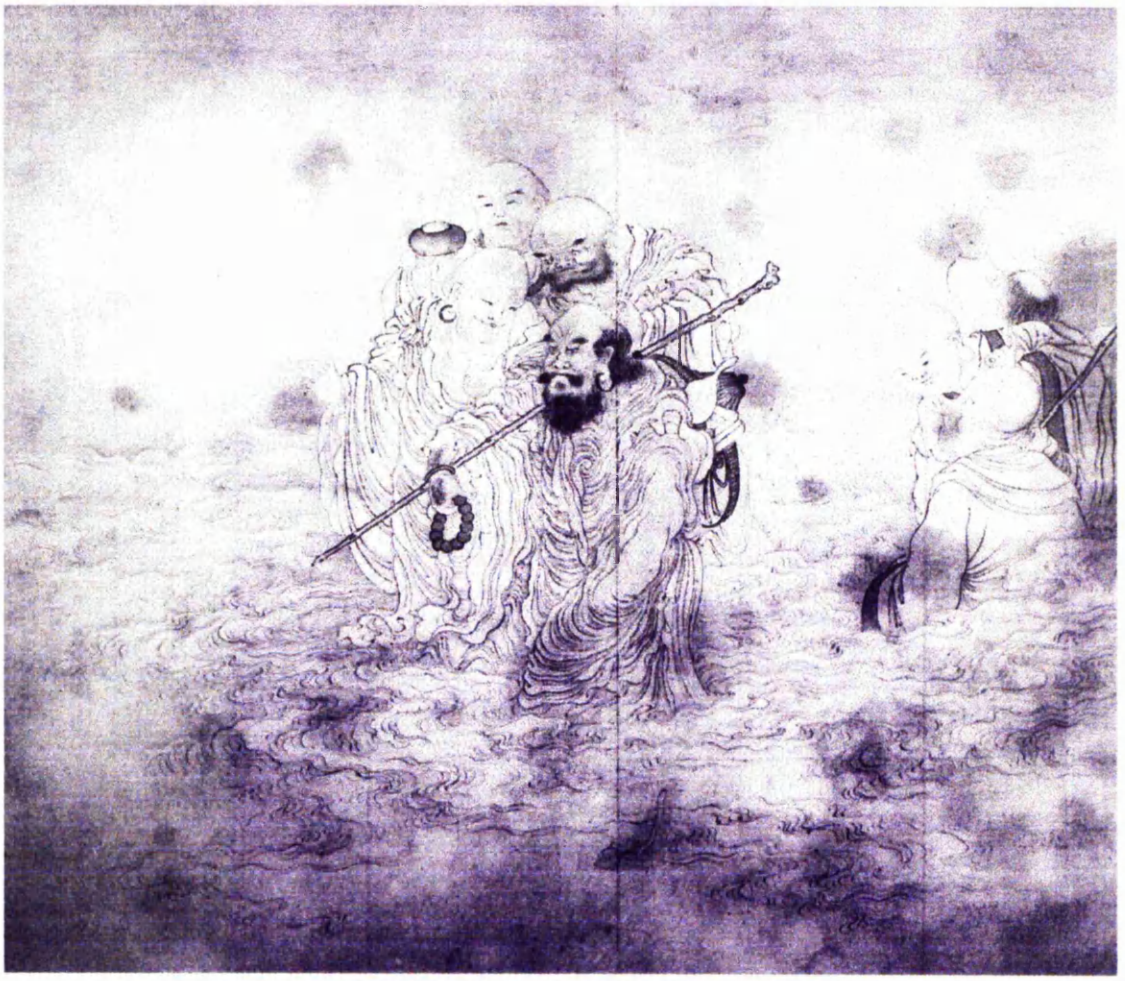
Bodhidharma Crossing on a Reed. Unknown Painter. Kamakura period, Japan, 14th century. Colours on silk, hanging scroll, 68.8 x 40.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Choi 1995. pl.9)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Paek Eun-pae (1820- 1900), Korea. Colours on paper, hanging scroll, 22 x 17 cm, Kim Eun-ho's Collection, Korea (Choi 1998, pl. 64)

Bodhidharma's crossing on a reed. Kim Eunho (1892-1979), Korea. Colours on silk, hanging scroll, 19.6 x 32.5 cm. Gansong Art Museum, Seoul (Gansong 1980. Vol.18. p.34)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed.

Painter: Cho Seokjin (1853-1920) Korea. Colours on silk. (Cho Seokjin went to China to study. He was a porcelain-painter. He painted the "drunken eight immortals") colours on silk, hanging scroll, 40.7 x 154 cm, Gansong Art Museum (Gansong vol.14, 1978, I.4)

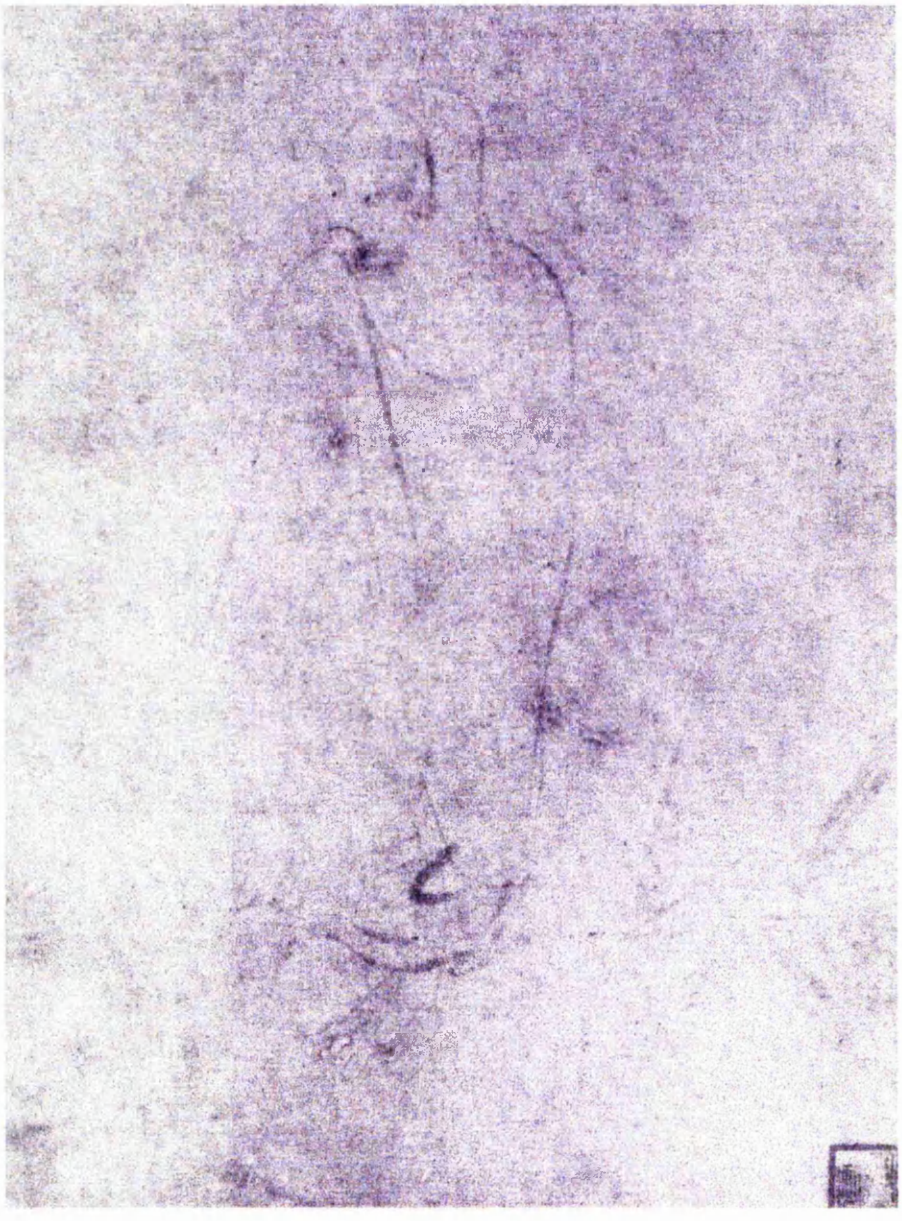


Arhats Crossing (from a set of arhat paintings). Attributed to Li Gonglin (ca. 1041-1106) ink on paper, album leaf, Freer Collection. Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. (Meyer 1923. pl..XVIII)

Immortal Chen Nan Crossing. Painter: Liu Jun (Ming Dynasty China), colours on silk, hanging scroll. Japan. Temple collection (Suzuki Kei 1983. JT 3-025)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Luoping (?) (1733-1799) ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll. Qing China, 46.2 x 113.5 cm. Private Collection (Choi 1995. pl.23)

Crossing figure. Painter: Yun Duseo (1668-1715) ink on silk.32 x 25.2 cm (Yun Duseo 1995, pl.25)



Bodhidharma's Crossing on a Reed. (detail from a central painting of a triptychon, the side paintings represent Yushan zhu riding a donkey, and Zhenghuangniu riding a water buffalo) Apparition painting. Unknown painter, mid. 13th century. Inscription by Wuzhun Shifan (1178-1249):

"He rudely offended the Emperor Liang,
And in deep sorrow he crossed the river.
For nine years he sat meditating in the cold,
And repeatedly he defeated his opponent in debate.
One flower and five leaves all grow on their own,
Unaffected by the intentional blows of the spring wind."
(English translation by Li Chu-ting 1971:53-54)

Ink on paper, hanging scroll. Tokugawa Reimekai Foundation, Nagoya (Brinker-Kanazawa-Ouvehand 1982. Fig.14)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Rubbing from a stone stele erected in 1308. Shaolin monastery, Songshan, Henan province, China. (Kidō 1978. fig.11)

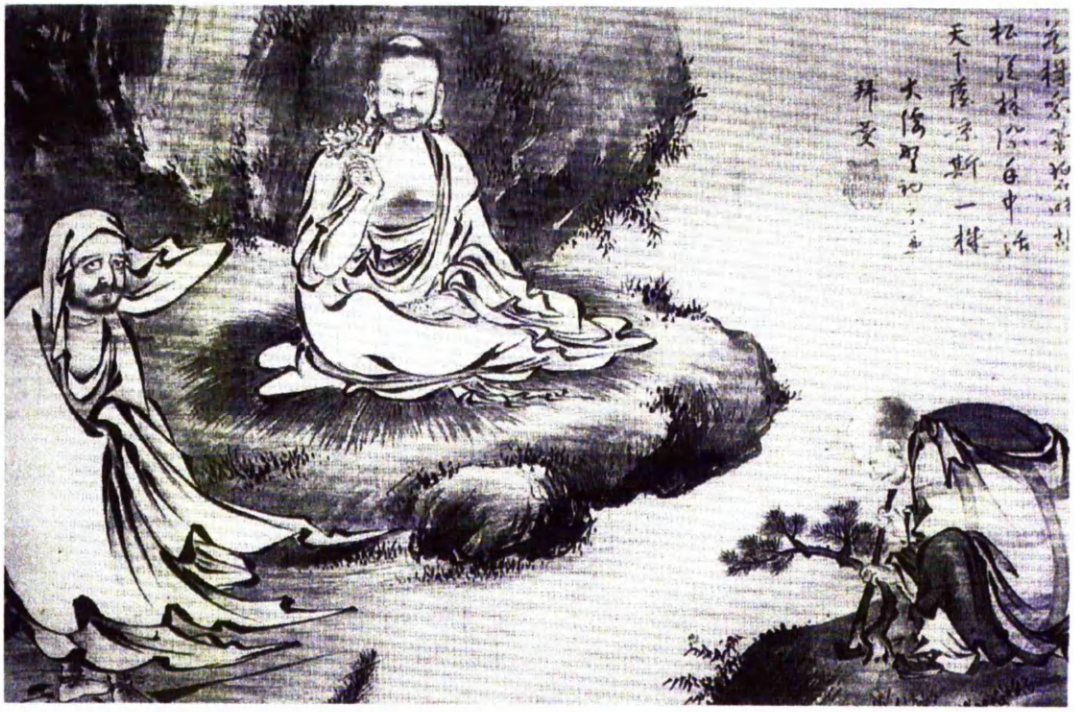
Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown painter. Inscription by Kian Soen (1261-1313). Ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll. Dated 1303. Nanzen-ji, Kyoto (Kanazawa 1979. pl.25)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown painter, inscription by Kozan Ikkyō (ca.1284-1360) ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll, 102.3 x 38.8 cm. Gyokuzō-in, Kyoto, Japan (Kanazawa 1979. pl.26)

Full body Bodhidharma. Unknown painter, inscription by Chūgan Engetsu (1300-1375). Ink on silk, hanging scroll. Masaki Art Museum, Osaka (Kanazawa 1979. Fig.22)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Shim Sajeong (1707-1769) Korea. Colours on paper, finger-painting, 28.5 x 18.4 cm. Private Collection, Seoul (Choi 1998. pl.37)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Jitang Li Yaofu (Jp. Kidō Rigyōfu), inscription by Yisang Yining (Jp. Issan Ichinei, 1247-1317), ink on paper, hanging scroll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. pl.89)



Bodhidharma crossing on a reed, Śākyamuni Buddha hold up a flower, Linji cultivates a pine tree. Painter: Kanō Motonobu (1476-1559), Shūkōin, Japan (Choi 1995. pl. 15)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown painter. Korea. Wall-painting, Sangju. Namjang temple, Patriarchs' Hall, dated 1812 (Kim Na-mi 2000. pl.18)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown painter. Yuan dynasty China. Ink on silk, hanging scroll. Yabumoto collection, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JP 11-012)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown painter, inscription by Tōkoku Myōhō from Mansu temple (Bungo prefecture, Kyūshū). Kamakura period, early 14th century. Ink and colours on silk. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (Li 1971. 58-59)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Ding Yunpeng (1547-1628) ink on silk, hanging scroll, 98 x 35 cm. Dated 1574. Zürich, Charles A. Drenovatz Collection (Choi 1995. pl.10)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown painter. Inscription by Changweng Rujing (1163-1228). Ink on paper, hanging scroll. Lost during the II. World War (Brinker 1973. Fig.4)

Arhat in the forest (detail from a handscroll showing the sixteen arhats). Attributed to the monk painter Fanlong (act. first half of 12th century). Ink on paper, hand scroll. Freer Gallery of Art. Washington D.C. (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. fig. 97)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Menwuguan, Southern Song dynasty period. Ink on silk, hanging scroll. Kajūrō Kikuya collection, Japan (Suzuki Kei 1983: JP 33-003)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown Southern Song Dynasty painter. Ink on silk, hanging scroll. British Museum, London (BM E15-J001)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Unknown Yuan painter (active around 1300), inscription by Zhongfeng Mingben (1263-1323)

"The ten thousand miles of the Long Stream
He navigated on a reed.
If you would ask how [that was possible, one would have to say]:
One single transmission, direct pointing.
From now on who wants to ride with him?
(Zhongfeng) Mingben of Huanzhu(an) reverently folds his hands"

The Masaki Bijutsukan in Tadaoka (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, fig. 102)

Bodhidharma's Crossing on a Reed. Unknown painter. Inscription Liaonan Qingyu (1288-1363):

"Winds rise from the reed flowers, the waves high,

It's a long way to go beyond the cliff of the Shao-shih mountain.

Above the worlds of kalpas a flower is opening into five petals.

So that your barefoot heels are just fine for the whipping rattans. (transl. From Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968:no.209)

Hanging scroll. Cleveland Museum of Art. (Lee-Ho 1968. pl.209)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Miyamoto Musashi (Niten) (1584-1645) Ink on paper, hanging scroll, Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation, Nagoya. (Hisamatsu 1971. pl.107)

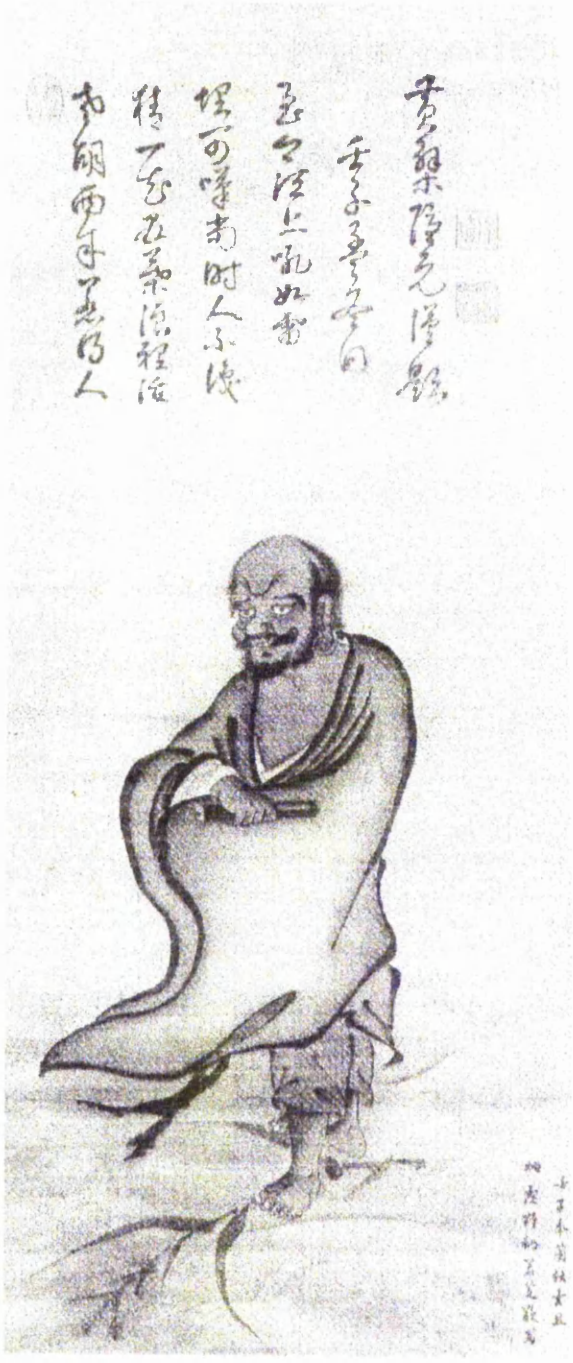
Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Rubbing made in the Tienshun period of the Ming Dynasty (1457-1464) from a stone stele (Kidō 1978. fig. 12)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Jin Gyeyu (1558-1639) Ming Dynasty China. Ink and colours on paper, 103.8 x 28.5 cm. Beijing Palace Museum (Choi 1995.pl.12)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Obaku Itsunen (1592-1688). Inscription:

"From a thousand miles away he arrived by boat.
Pressed for answers by the Liang Emperor, he puffed out his cheeks
And said he did not know; even the sages could not understand him.
If someone had not cut off an arm to gain the master's attention,
How could five petals open?"

Ink and colours on silk.hanging scroll, 11.8 x 45.8 cm. Collection of Kimiko and John Powers (Addiss 1978.pl.1)



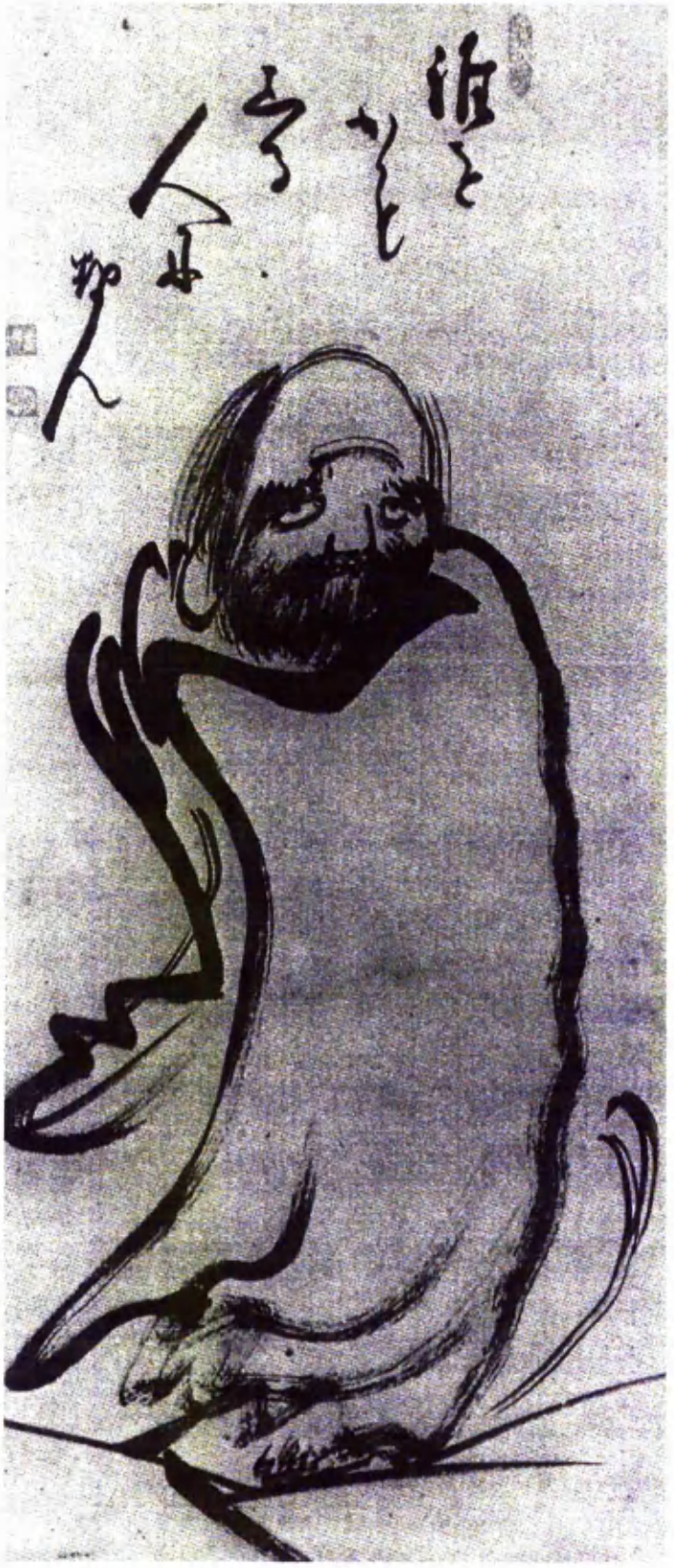
Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Kawamura Jakushi (1629-1707), inscription by Yinyuan (Jp. Ingen). Colours on silk, hanging scroll, dated 1672. Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum (Ōbaku catalogue 1985: no.1)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Kawamura Jakushi (1629-1707), colours on silk, hanging scroll, dated 1677. Kōbe City Museum (McFarland 1987. pl.6)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Shin'etsu (Ch. Xin Yue, 1639-1695) inscription:

"In the Liang Imperial Palace he would not explain who he was,
But crossed the river with sealed lips and piercing eyes
Until he arrived at complete tranquillity:
A single flower, five petals together in the spring."

Ink on silk, hanging scroll, 99 x 34 cm. Private Collection. (Addiss 1989. pl.44)



Bodhidharma's Crossing on a Reed. Painter: Kōgan Gengei (1747-1821) inscription:

"Anyone who understands Daruma's actions, do likewise!"

ink on paper. Hanging scroll. 68 x 28.5 cm, new Orleansm Museum of Art. (Gitter Collection, 82.53.) (Stevens-Yelen 1990.pl.21)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Rozan Ekō (1865-1944), inscription:

You know he came from the West over the ocean to the East;
But if you also know that he sat peacefully at Shaolin in the evenings,
Then for you the wind in the pines,
The moon in the ivy are also pure emptiness.

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 125.3 x 29.2 cm Private collection (Seo-Addiss 1998. pl.63)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Sōen (Japanese monk) first half of the 20th century. Ink on paper, 183 x 97 cm. Tongdosa Temple Museum, Korea. Sōen gave this painting to the Korean monk Baek Hak-myeong as a present (Choi 1998. pl.104)

Bodhidharma's Crossing on a Reed. Painter: Baek Hak-myeong (1867-1929)

Inscription:

"Even if I have turned the axis of the world, the Earth does not move.

Even if I want to pull down the boundaries of the Heaven,

The Heaven becomes higher and higher than before.

Comfortably I took an iron boat and returned to Shaolin temple,

Until today in the world wind and waves are raising.

In the year of imsul (1922), mid-autumn, Wolmyeong Baek Hakmyeong."

Ink on paper. 90.9 x 27.5 cm

Dated 1922. Tongdosa Temple Museum, Korea.

(Choi 1998. pl.102.)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Song Doseong Jusan (1907-1946) inscription:

"Obviously there is no sacred thing.
Who can be the proper person for the sacred things?
Who is the person who treats me-I do not know.
Consequently I cross the deep river
And still suffer very much."

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 119 x 33 cm. Collection of the General Office of Won Buddhism (Choi 1998. pl.106)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Wall- painting, Haeinsa, Korea (Byeok'hwaro poneun bulgyo iyagi 1996)

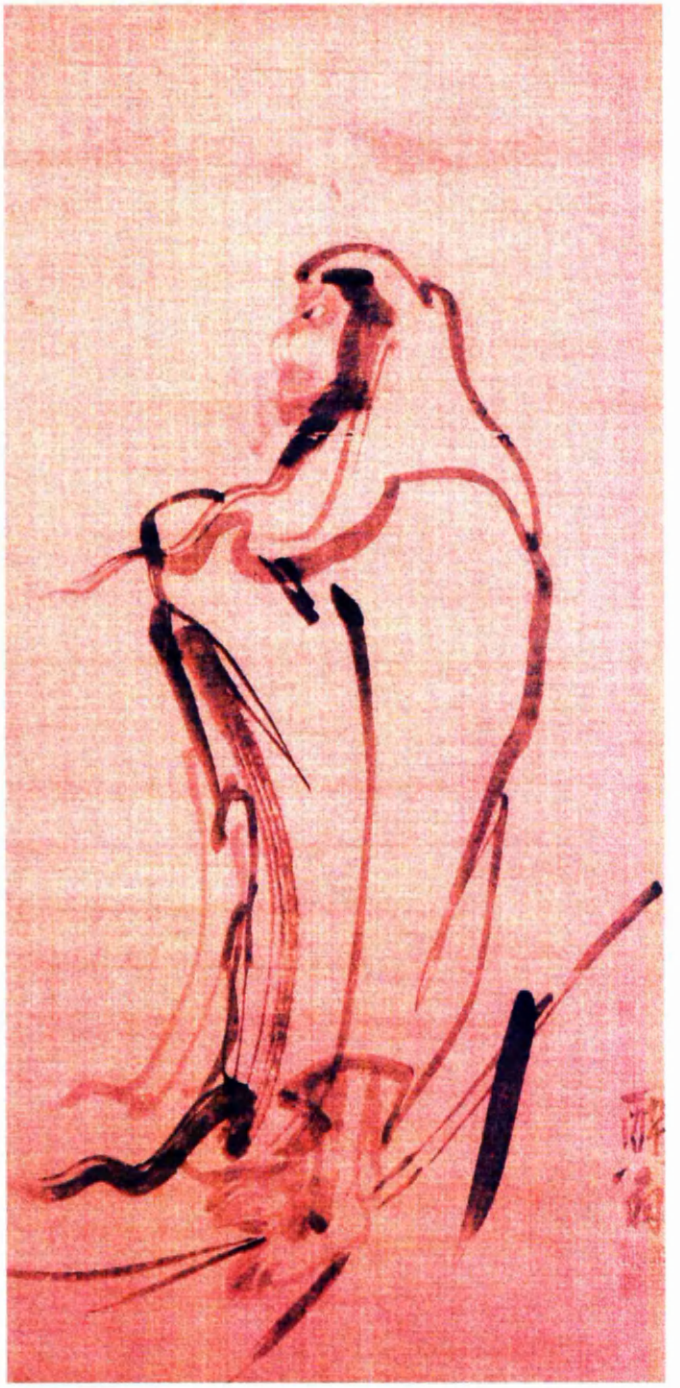
Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Won Dam (b.1925), ink on paper, hanging scroll, 137 x 34.5 cm. Collection of Kim Jeol (Choi 1998. pl.79)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927), ink and light colours on paper, 112.5 x 35 cm (Seok Jeong 1996. pl. 226)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Fumon Mukan (fl. mid. thirteenth century)
Taman collection, Osaka Municipal Museum, Japan (Li 1971.p.58)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Yin Tuoluo (early Yuan dynasty); Asano Collection, Tokyo, Japan (Kokka 215.pl.VII)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Zheng Zhong (early 17th century) (Li 1971.p.64)



Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Kim Myeongguk (ca.1600-1662) signature: 'drunken old man', ink on paper, hanging scroll, 97.6 x 48.2 cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul (Choi 1998. pl.20)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769), ink on paper, 113.3. x 52.4 cm. Private collection (Awakawa 1970. Fig. 72)

Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927), ink on paper. Private collection (Kim Yeongjae 2001.pl.1-14)

Arhats crossing water (from ten arhat paintings from Daitoku-ji, Kyoto, Japan) painter: Zhou Jichang (act. second half of 12th century), hanging scroll mounted as panel; ink and colours on silk, 111.5 x 53.1 cm. Southern Song Dynasty, ca. 1178, China. Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 06.291., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Wu Tung 1996, No. 35)

Four Immortals Honouring the God of Longevity. Painter: Shang Xi (fl. 1426-1435) Ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll, 98.3 x 143.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taibei. (Guo li gong bo wu yuan gu gong bao ji 1985. vol.2.pl.146)

Daoist Immortal Zhongli Quan is crossing the sea. Yan Hui (Yuan dynasty period) ink and colours on silk, hanging scroll, Tanaka collection, Japan (Li 1971. Fig.15)

Śākyamuni Buddha descending from the Mountain ('Shussan Shaka'). Unknown artist. 13th century copy from the Kōzan-ji workshop after a twelfth century Chinese prototype. Ink on paper, mounted as hanging scroll, 90.8 x 41.9 cm. Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Collection. 50.124. (Brinker 1973. Fig.1)

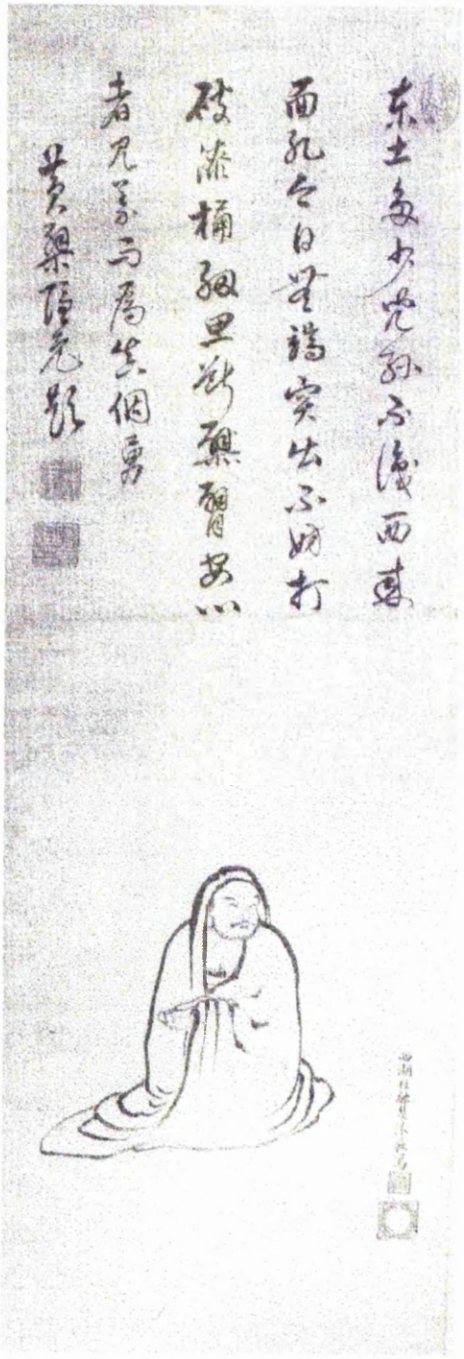
Bodhidharma crossing on a reed. Copy after Sesshū (1420-1506) by Hayashi Kyōsetsu (dates unknown) inscription by Jikushin Keisen. Dated 1840 (Tenpō 11) ink on paper, hanging scroll, 104 x 39.4 cm. Tokyo National Museum (Sesshū catalogue 2002. pl.24)

Śākyamuni Buddha descending from the Mountain ('Shussan Shaka') painter: Sesshū (1420-1506) ink on paper, hanging scroll. 83.3 x 33.5 cm. Private collection. (Sesshū catalogue 2002. pl.22)

Avalokitēśvara on a lotus leaf. Unknown artist. 13th century copy from the Kōzan-ji workshop after a twelfth century Chinese prototype. Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 91.1 x 43.7 cm. Private collection (Lachman 1993. Fig. 13)

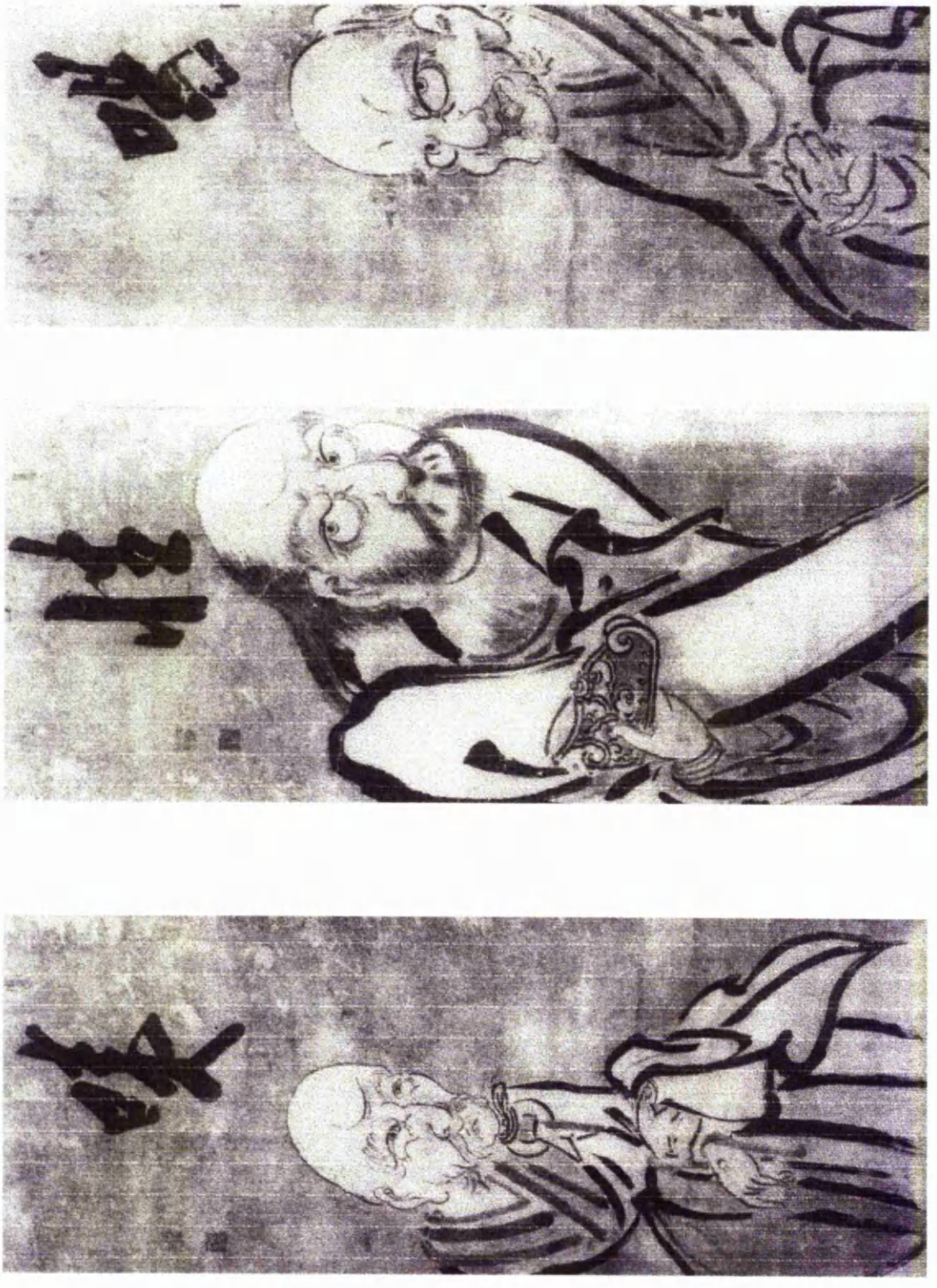
Bodhidharma carrying one shoe. Ming dynasty rubbing from a stele
(Reproduction of the original from Prof. Whitfield; photo: Beatrix Mecsi)

Bodhidharma carrying one shoe. Unknown Ming dynasty artist, inscription by Mokuan Sōen (?) (1611-1684), in the collection of Manfuku-ji (Tokyo 1988. No.5)

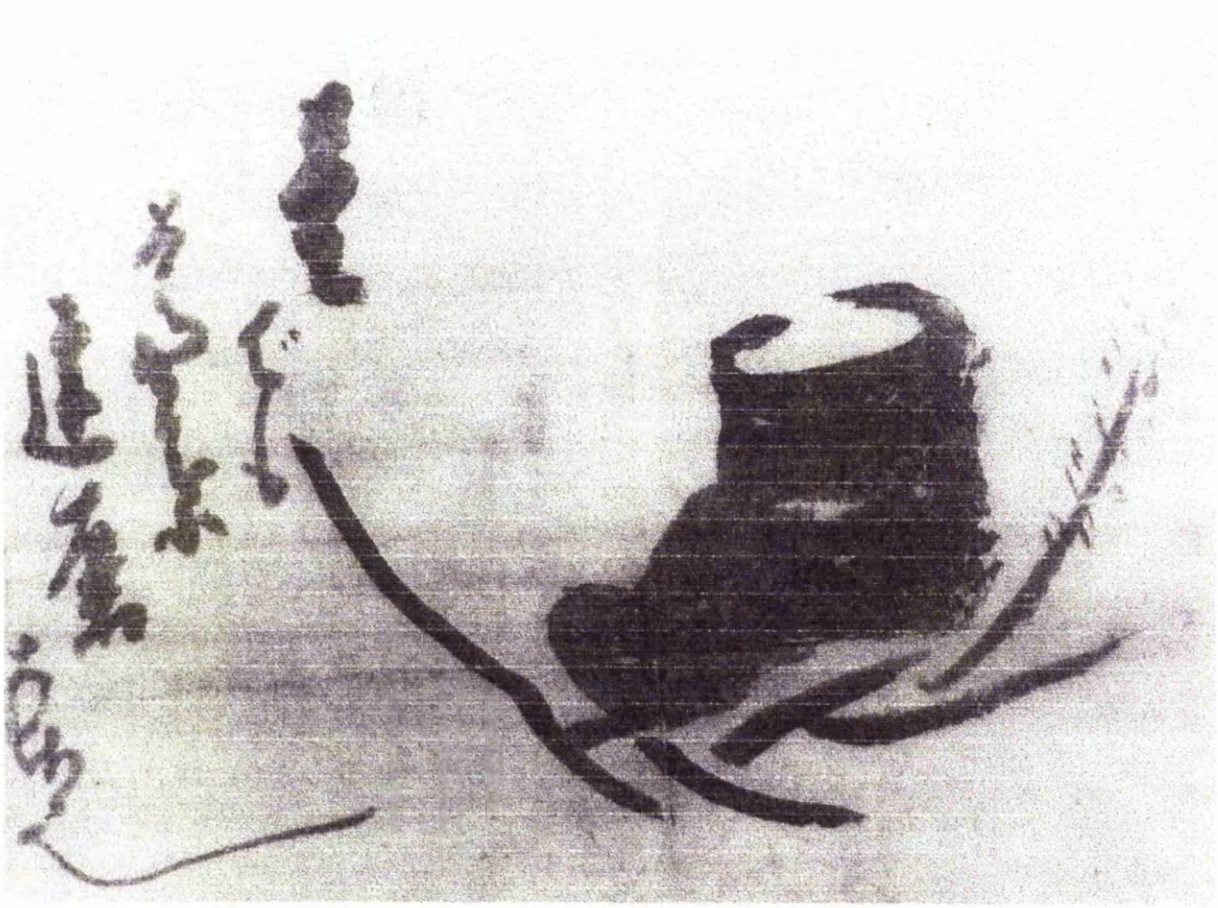


Bodhidharma with one shoe. Painter: Yiran (Jp. Itsunen, 1592-1673), inscription by Yinyuan (Jp.Ingen) ink on paper, hanging scroll, 91.8 x 31 cm (Ōbaku catalogue 1985, no.64)

Bodhidharma with one shoe. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) ink on paper, 193 x 107.8 cm, dated 1757. Ryūkyū-ji, Japan (Edo no Shūkyō Bijutsu 1979. No.67)



Bodhidharma with one shoe (central scroll of a triptych). Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) ink on paper. Ryūen-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.39)



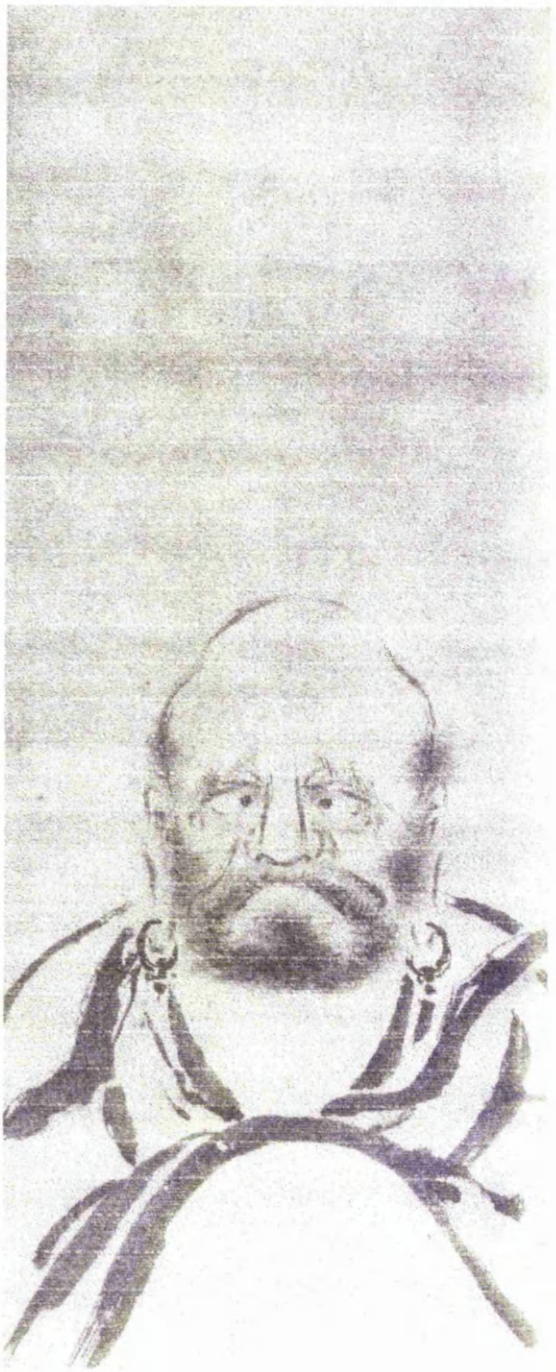
One shoe and a rush leaf (symbols of Bodhidharma). Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769) ink on paper (Tokyo 1988. No.42)

Bodhidharma carrying one shoe. Painter: Takujū Kosen (1760-1833) ink on paper. Enfuku-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. No.47)

Bodhidharma carrying one shoe. Painter: Jung Kwang (1935-2002) Korea. Ink on paper (Lancaster 1979. pl.52)

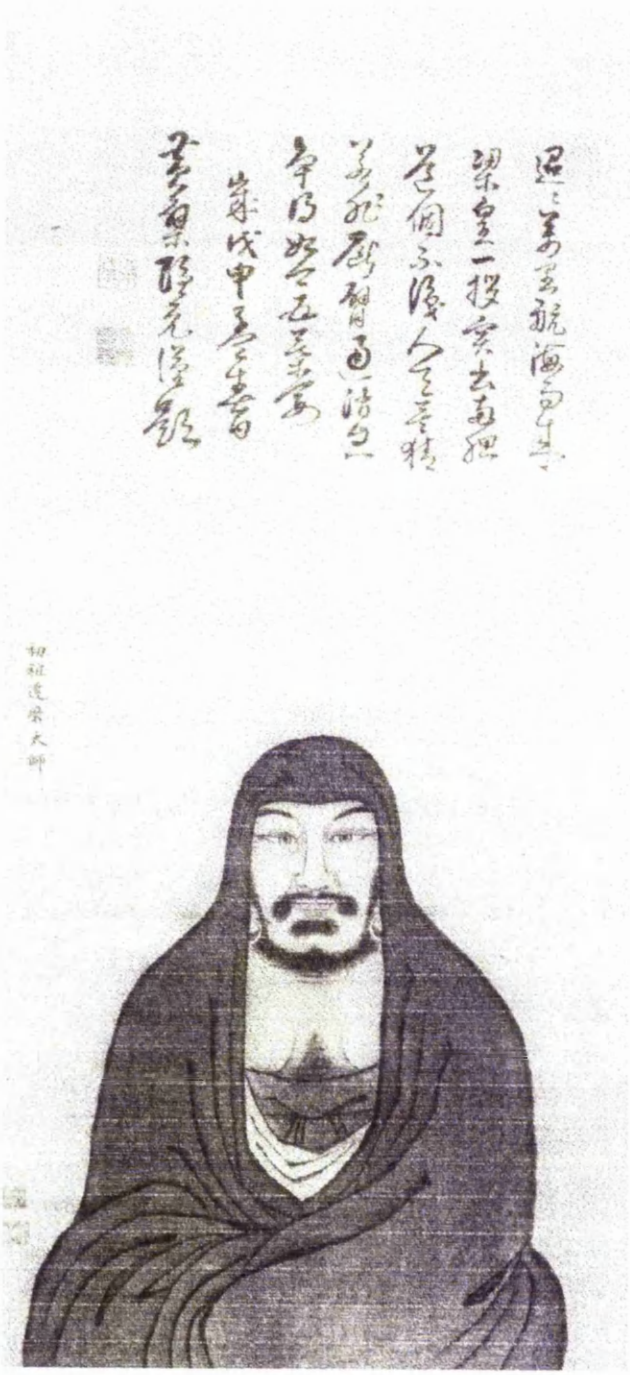
Head of Bodhidharma, in profile (detail). Painter: Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386-1428), inscription: monk Shunsaku Zenkō. Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 75 x 26 cm. Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln (Addiss-Hurst 1983. pl.4)

Head of Bodhidharma, in profile. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1769), ink on paper, hanging scroll,130.8 x 56.4 cm. Tokyo. Eisei Bunko Foundation (Edo no Shūkyō bijutsu 1979. no.70)



Half-body Bodhidharma, en-face. Painter: Miyamoto Musashi ('Niten') (1584-1645) ink on paper, hanging scroll (Tokyo 1988.no.29)

Half body Bodhidharma en-face (from a set of the six Chan patriarchs). Painter: Yiran (Jp. Itsunen) (1592-1688), inscription by Jifei (Jp. Sokuhi, 1616-1671), colours on silk, hanging scroll, 107.1 x 42.6 cm, dated 1667. Fukujiu-ji, Fukuoka prefecture, Japan (Ōbaku catalogue, no.56)



Half body Bodhidharma en-face (from a set of the six Chan patriarchs). Painter: Yiran (Jp. Itsunen) (1592-1688), inscription by Yinyuan (Jp. Ingen, 1592-1673), colours on silk, hanging scroll, 109.8 x 50.2 cm. Manpuku-ji, Kyoto Prefecture, Japan (Tokyo 1988, no.51)

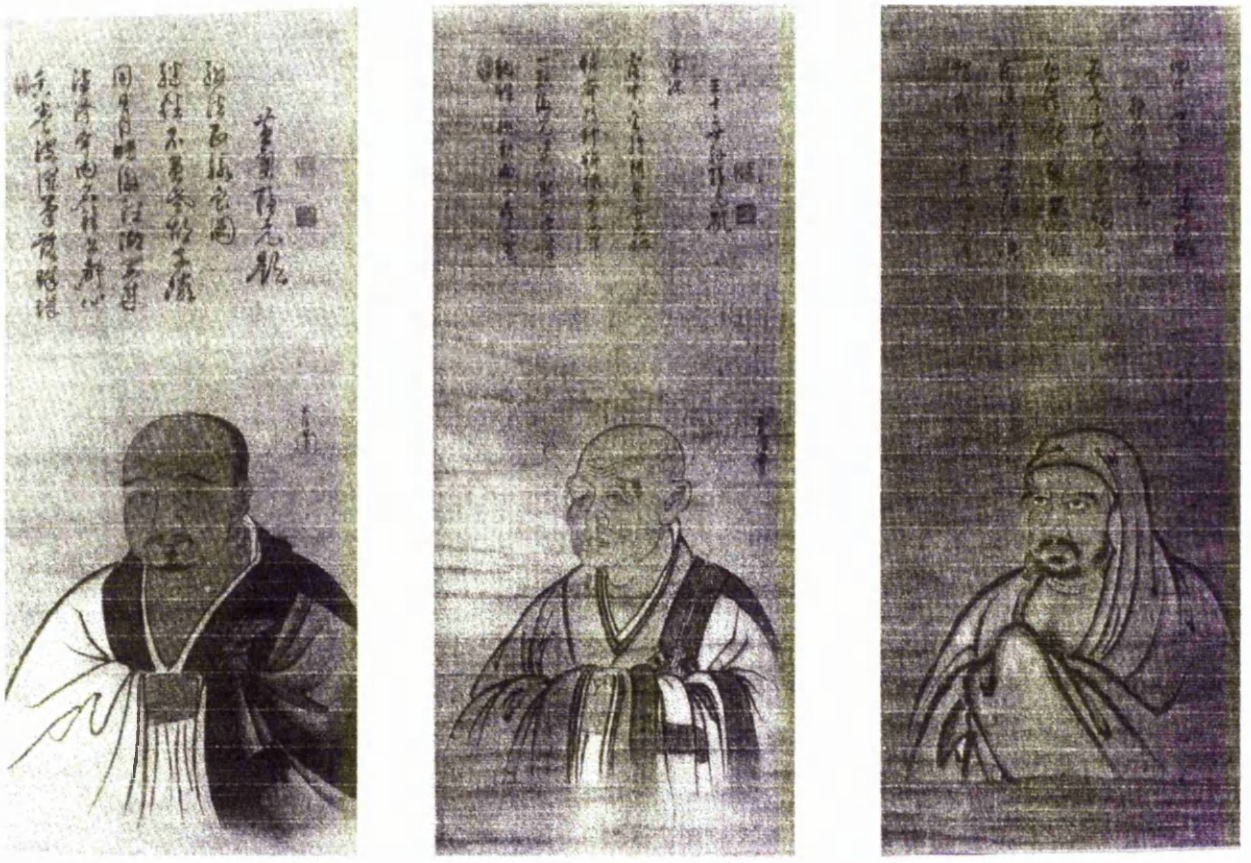
Half body Bodhidharma. Unknown painter, seventeenth century. Osaka Museum of Nanban Culture (McFarland 1987.pl.4)

Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818), wax oil on paper 42.8 x 48 cm. ca.1780, Kōbe, City Museum (French 1974)

Half body Bodhidharma (from a set of six Chan patriarchs) made after a 12th century Chinese stele copied by Hakuun Egyō (1223-1297), Rikkyoku-an temple, Kyōto, Japan (Brinker 1973. Fig.12.a)

Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Kichizan Minchō (1351-1431), ink and colours on paper, Dairyū-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.13)

Half body Bodhidharma. Unknown painter, (late Muromachi period, 16th century) colours on silk, hanging scroll, 109.2 x 54 cm. Shōrin zen-ji, Okayama Prefecture, Japan (David Jones' Art Gallery, Sydney, Austalia, catalogue 9-31. October 1981. lot.14)



Patriarchs of Chan Buddhism. Painters: Kano Tanyu, Tsunenobe and Masunobu (seventeenth century), inscription by Yinyuan (Ingen), 1663. Colours on paper, three hanging scrolls. Manpuku-ji, Kyōto prefecture (Ōbaku catalogue 1985 no.107)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Fourteenth century Japanese copy of a twelfth century Chinese prototype. Ink and colours on silk. Tenryū-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.9)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Fourteenth century Japanese copy of a twelfth century Chinese prototype. Ink and colours on silk, 98 x 51 cm. Yabumoto Sōgorō collection (Brinker-Kramers-Ouwehand 1982.fig.1)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Yuan Chinese model painted by Xuejian, inscription by Bingshi Ruzhi (Jp. Hinshii Nyoshi, died 1357) (Tokyo 1988 no.7)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Attributed to Sesshū (1420-1506), colours on silk, hanging scroll, 87.8 x 38.7 cm. Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tokyo (Sesshū catalogue 2002. pl.108)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Attributed to Sesshū (1420-1506). Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 79 x 33.8 cm. Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tokyo (Sesshū catalogue 2002. pl.23)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Kanō Motonobu (1476-1559). Ink on paper, hanging scroll. Teishō-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.55)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Japanese monk painter Goshō, inscription by the Korean monk Sa'myeongdang Yujeong (1554-1610):

"Even though I came from ten thousand li
Only a few people have eyes with insight
I spent nine empty years in Shaolin temple
If you, Shenggan, would not have searched for me,
It would have been a useless work coming along in the desert.
Distant grandson Seongeun's inscription."

Ink on paper, hanging scroll (Choi 1998. pl.11)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Kim Myeongguk (ca.1600-1662). Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 82.8 x 57.5 cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul (Choi 1998. pl.17)

Printed textile with the impression of Kim Myeongguk's painting, sold as souvenir in Tongdosa, Korea, 1990s.

Half-Figure Portrait of Bodhidharma. Painter unknown, inscription by Mieweng Wenli (1167-1250). Executed before 1250, China. Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 83.5 x 33 cm.
Inscription:

"He murmured only: 'I don't know.'
How could he understand Chinese, when he spoke only in a barbarian tongue?
If Old Xiao [Emperor Wu] had had more blood under his skin,
He would have pursued [Bodhidharma] beyond the flowing sands [of the Central Asian deserts]
in search of the Dharma. The fire wood gatherer of [Mt.] Tianmu."

Myōshin-ji, Kyōto, Important Cultural Property [Jūyō Bunkazai](Brinker-Kanazawa 1996, No.6)

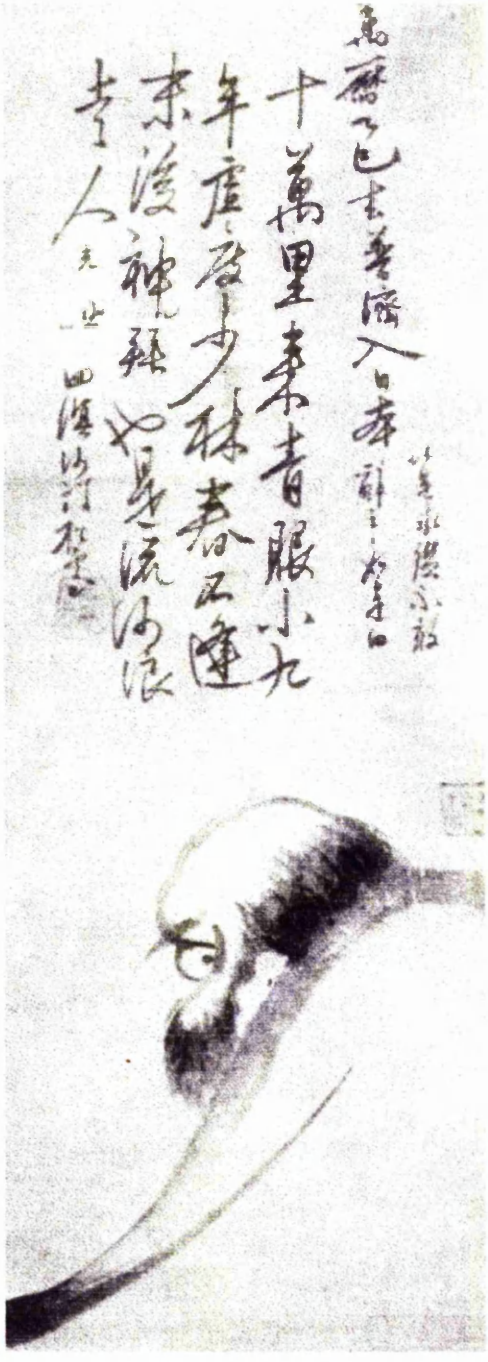
Half-body Bodhidharma. Unknown Yuan dynasty painter. Ink on silk, hanging scroll, 90.8 x 49.3 cm. Freer Art Gallery, Washington D.C. (Freer 1973. no.23)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Unknown Momoyama period painter, late sixteenth century. Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 76.5 x 39 cm, Arthur Morrison Collection, The British Museum (Smith-Harris-Clark 1990. no.39)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Hasegawa Tōhaku (Nobuharu) (1539-1610). 71 x 56.7 cm. Ishikawa, Ryūmon-ji (Zen no Bijutsu 1983. no.67)

Bodhidharma. Painter: Jung Kwang (1935-2002), ink on paper, 60 x 62 cm. Dated 1975 (Jung Kwang 1983.pl.32)

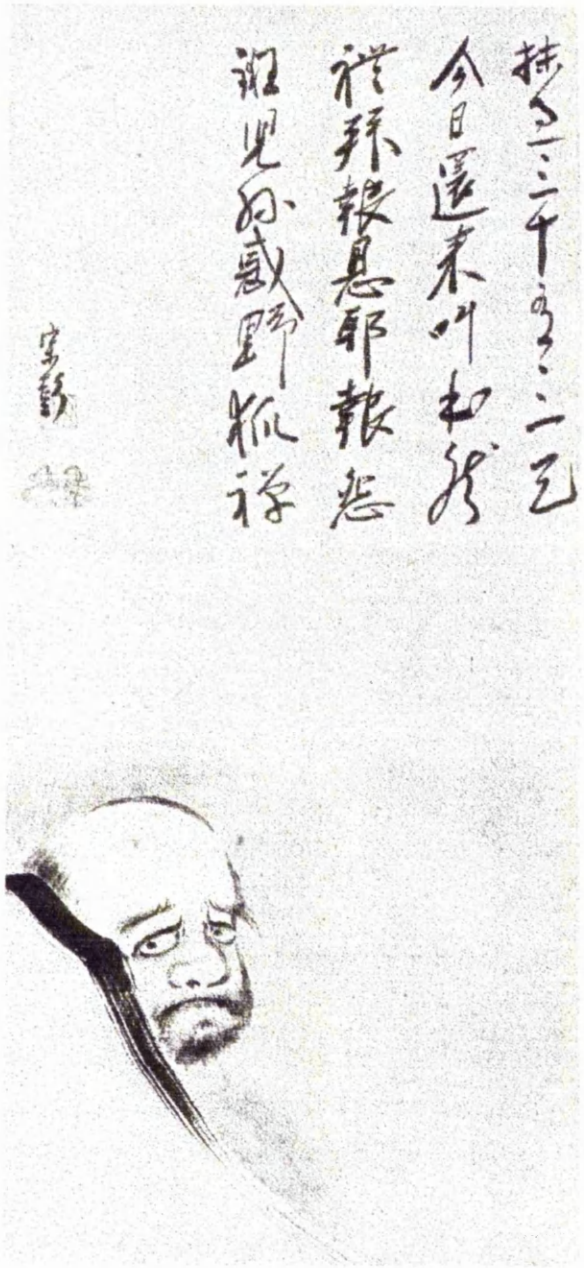
Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927), inscription:
"Why are you gazing with angry eyes?
Buddha is only a dust in front of the eyes."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll. Dated 1977 (Choi 1998. pl.175)



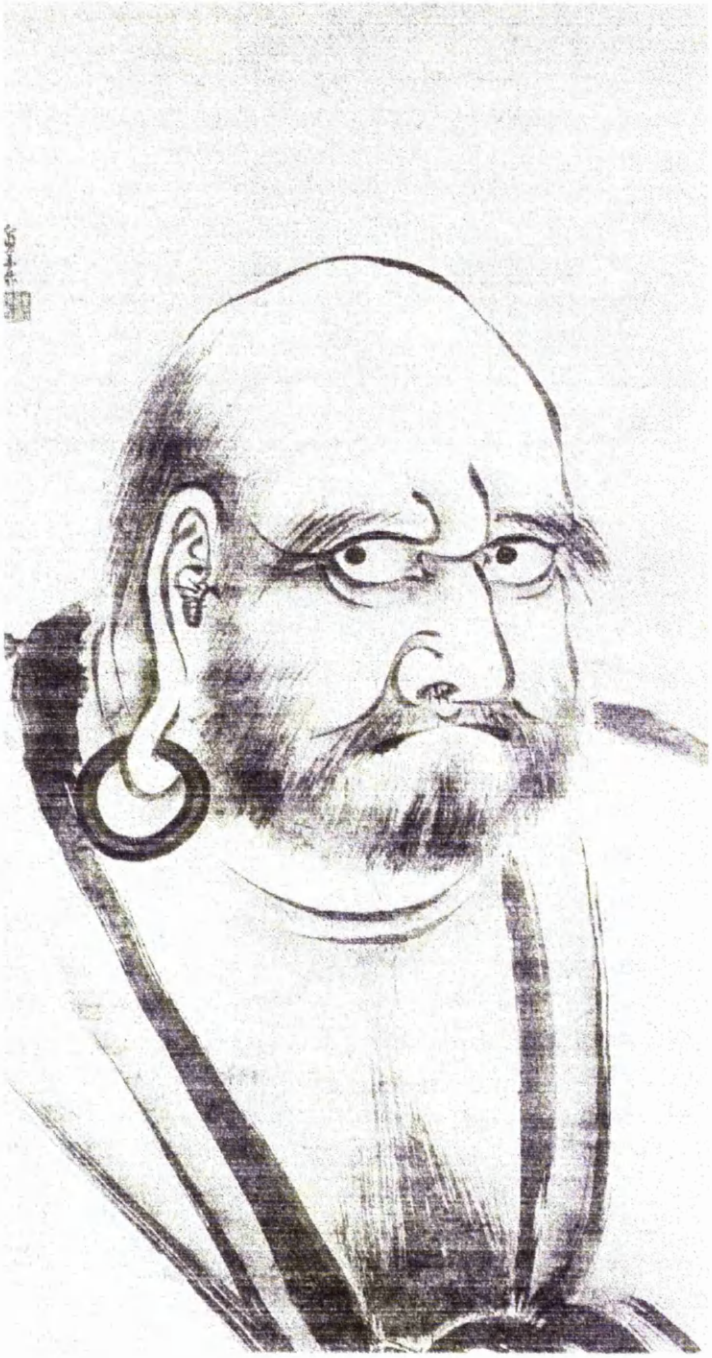
Bodhidharma. Unknown Japanese painter, inscription by Sa'myeongdang Yujeong (1554-1610):

"Even though I came from ten thousand li
Only a few people have eyes with insight
I spent nine empty years in Shaolin temple
If you, Shenggan, would not have searched for me,
It would have been a useless work coming along in the desert.
Distant grandson Seongeun's inscription."

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 27.5 x 74 cm (Gansong Vol.16. 1979.pl.33)



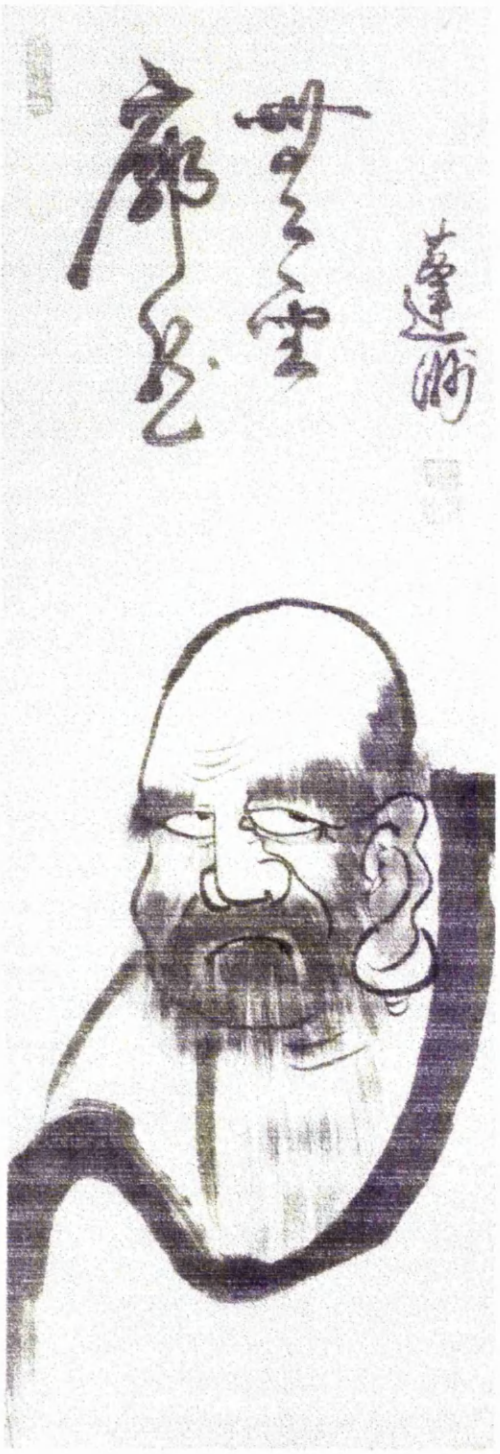
Bodhidharma. Painter: Japanese Zen monk Takuan Sōhō (1573-1645), ink on paper, hanging scroll, 70.5 x 29.8 cm. Daitō-ji, in Hyōgo prefecture, Japan (Edo no Shūkyō bijutsu 1979. no.72)



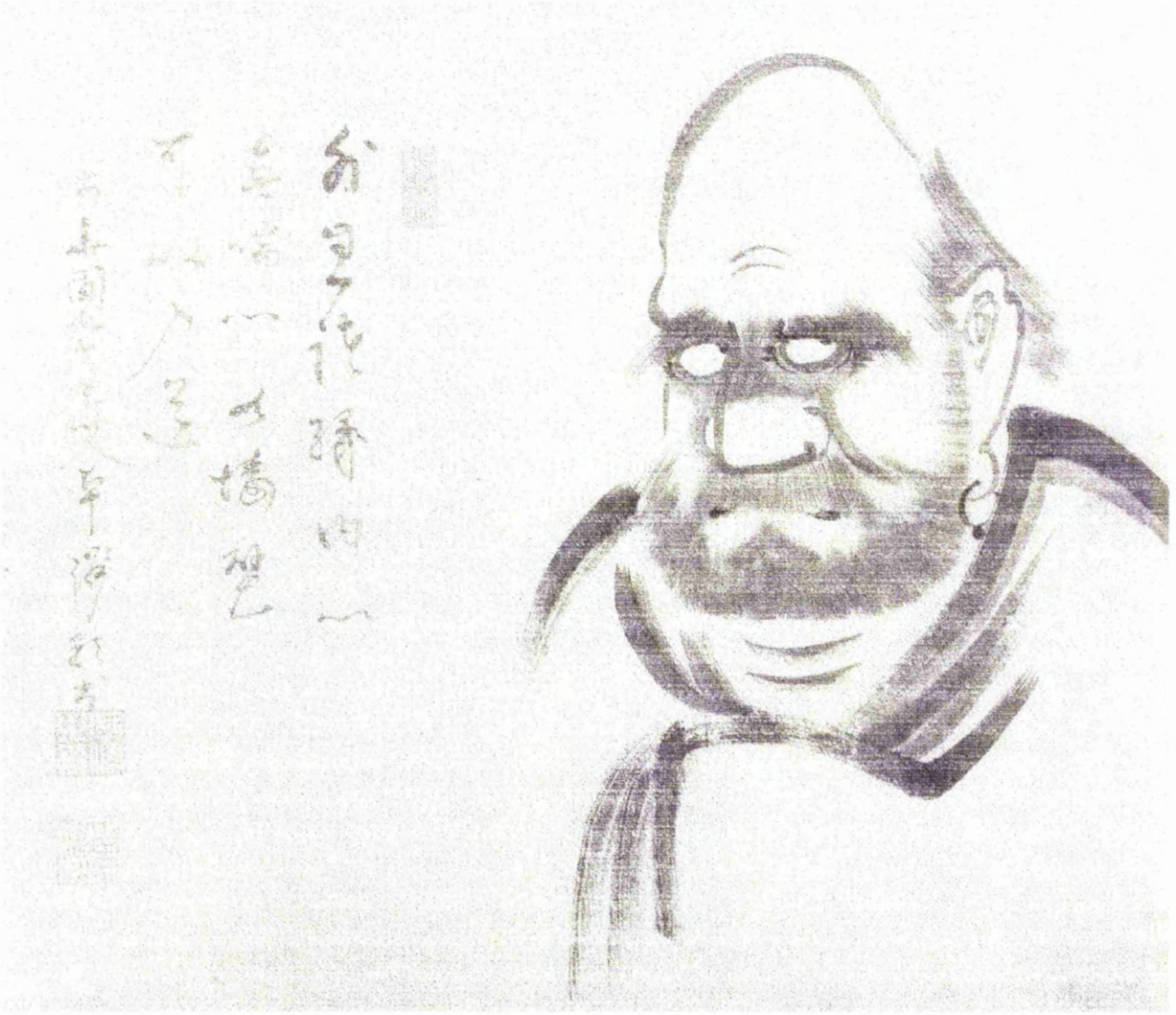
Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Kenkō Shōkei (Kei Shoki) (fl. in the mid. 15th, early 16th century). Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 93.5 x 46 cm. Nanzen-ji, Kyōto, Japan (Fontein-Hickman 1970. no.57)

Half body Bodhidharma. Attributed to Ma Yuan (ca.1155-after 1225), colours on silk, hanging scroll, Enfuku-ji, Japan (Tokyo 1988. no.3)

Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Gyeong Bong Jeong Seok (1892-1982), inscription:
"In the place where someone got enlightened, water flows and flower blooms."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll (Choi 1998.pl.158)



Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Hōjū Zenbyō (1802-1872), inscription:
"Vast emptiness, nothing holy!"
Ink on paper, 89.6 x 29.8 cm, Private Collection (Stevens-Yelen, 1990, pl. 10)



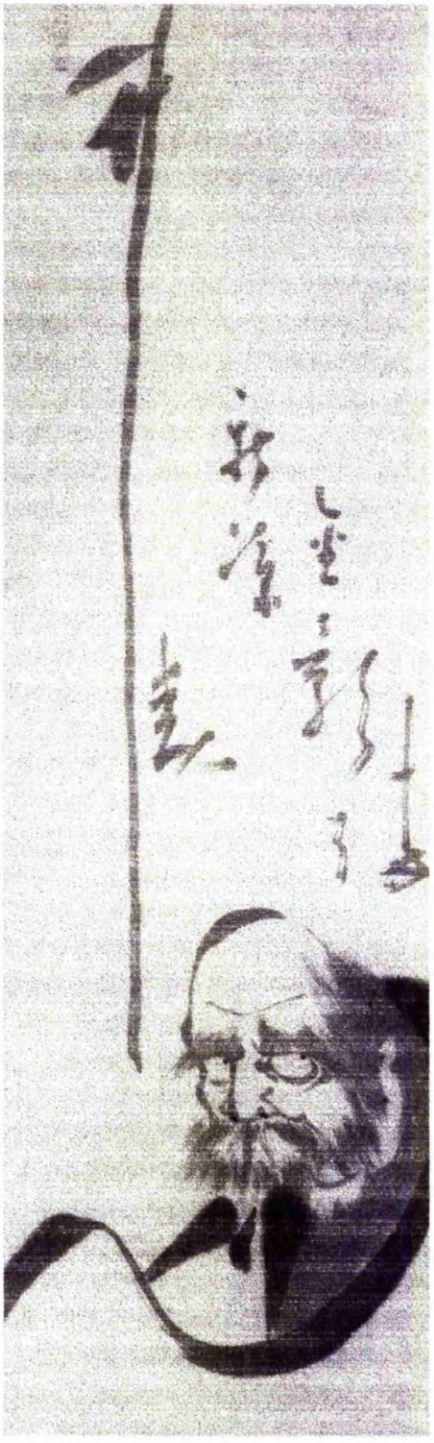
Half body Bodhidharma . Painter: Takujū Kosen (1760-1833), inscription:
"Externally, cut off all relationships;
Internally, do not stir the mind.
When your mind resembles a solid wall,
You can enter the Way (of Zen)."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 56.5 x 66.0 cm, dated: 1832, The Gitter Collection
(Stevens-Yelen, 1990, pl. 8)

Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Shunsō Shōjū (1750-1839), inscription:

"A single flower opens to five petals,
And bears fruit according to its own nature."

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 102 x 51 cm. Dated 1828. Private Collection (Addiss 1989, pl. 81)

Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Reigen Etō (1721-1785), inscription:
"Son of an Indian prince,
Disciple of a meditation master from Central Asia
(Daruma has ended up here.)"
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 67.3 x 27.9 cm. New Orleans Museum of Art , Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Kurt A. Gitter, 82.146 (Stevens-Yelen 1990, pl. 6)



Half body Bodhidharma. Hakuin Ekaku [Nagasawa] (1685-1769), inscription:
"Bamboo-rustles in the cool freshness,
Shattering the golden shadows of the moon."
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 81.9 x 26.0 cm, The Gitter Collection, New Orleans Museum of Art (Stevens-Yelen 1990, pl. 5)

Daruma in red. Painter: Hakuin Ekaku [Nagasawa] (1685-1769), inscription:
"Pointing directly to the human heart:
See your own nature and become Buddha!"
Ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 191 x 111 cm, Manjū-ji, Oita (Addiss 1989, pl. 69)

Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Seok Jeong (b.1927), inscription:
'What is the person who came from the West doing?'
Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 43.5 x 28 cm. Dated 1972. Collection of Yeoyeo Haeng, Korea (Choi 1998. pl.173)

Half body Bodhidharma. Painter: Sengai Gibon (1750-1838), ink on paper, Hosokawa collection, Tokyo (Fontein-Hempel 1968. Fig. 31)

Arhat Kālika. From cave 17, Dunhuang, Tang dynasty, early to mid- 9th century, ink and colours on paper, 43.5 x 26 cm. Stein Collection OA 1919.1-1.0169, The British Museum, London (Whitfield-Farrer 1990.pl. 54)

Mahākāśyapa. Sculpted in low relief from the Lianhua cave, Longmen, ca. 521. The figure's face is in the Guimet Museum, Paris from 1936. (Kent 1995:40. fig. 13)

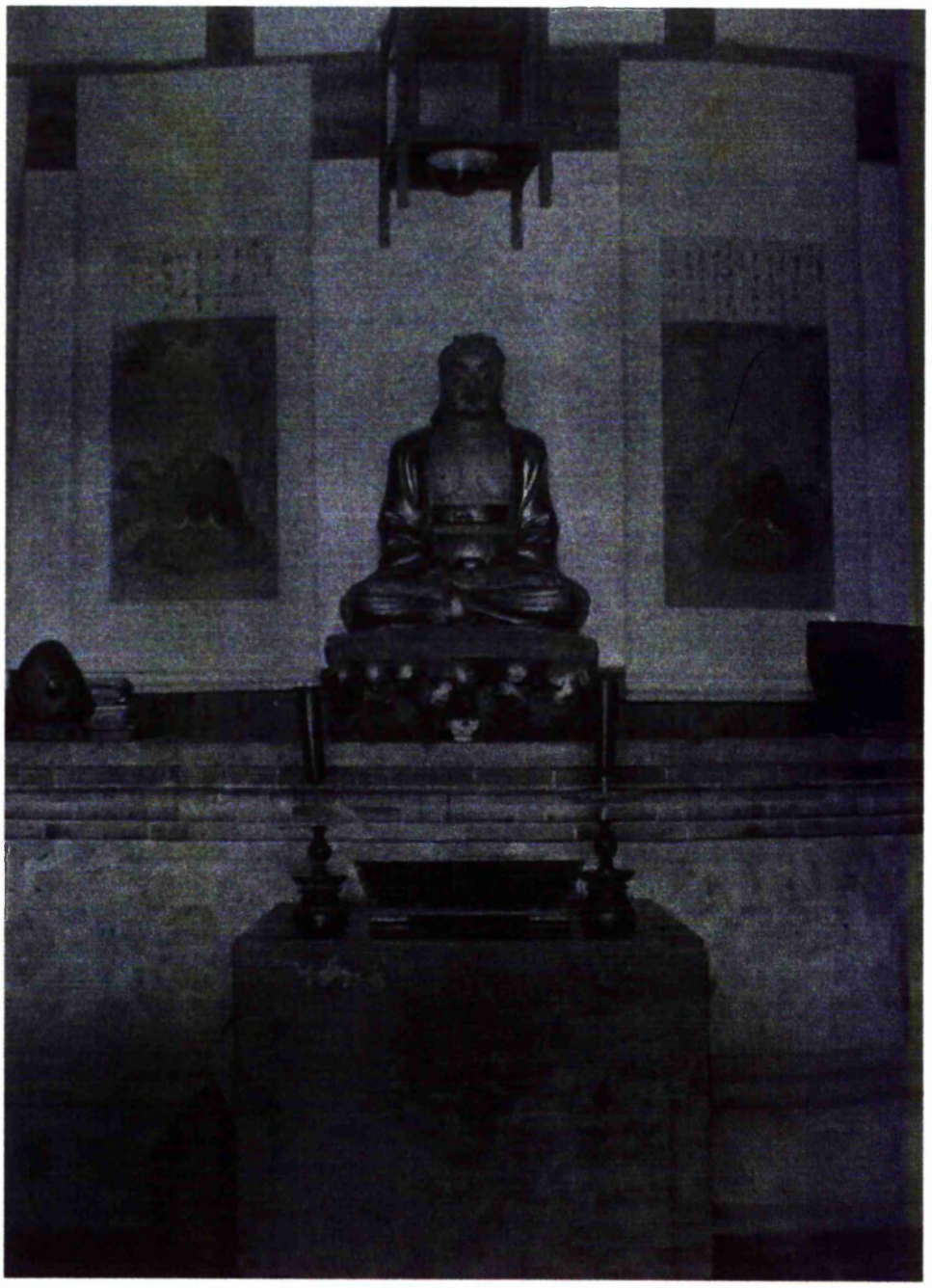
Ink rubbing of a stele depicting the sages of the Three Teachings (Ch. Sanjiao). Jin Dynasty, dated 1209. Limestone; 123 x 60 cm. Shaolin Temple, Mount Song, Henan Province (Little 2000, fig. 10)

Portrait of Laozi. Painted by Fachang Muqi (act. 13th century, ca. 1210 - 1280), Southern Song Dynasty, early 13th century, hanging scroll; ink on paper, 88.9 x 33.5 cm, Okayama Prefectural Museum of Art (Little 2000, no. 1)

The Three Doctrines. Painter: Jōsetsu (act. first half of 15th century), Japan, detail. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 98.2 x 21.8 cm. Inscribed by Kantōsō (dates unknown) and Ryūtō (dates unknown), Ryōsokuin, Kyōto (Watanabe-Kanazawa-Varley, 1986, no. 6)

The Three Vinegar Tasters (Jp. Sansan). Painter: Reisai (act. mid-15th century), Japan. Detail. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Umezawa Kinenkan, Tokyo (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. fig. 4)

The Three Laughers of the Tiger Ravine (Jp. Kokei Sanshō). Painter: Chū'an Shinkō (active mid-15th century), Japan. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. Minoru Hosomi Collection, Ōsaka, Japan (Brinker-Kanazawa 1996. fig. 5)



Bodhidharma on the altar in the Patriarch Hall in a Chinese Buddhist Monastery, Sizuhuan, Chengdu. photo taken before 1937 (Prip-Møller 1937)

Bodhidharma(?). Unknown painter, Late Joseon period, Korea. Seal of 'Seol Bong'. Colours on paper. National Museum of Korea, Seoul (Deok 2278) (with the courtesy of the National Museum of Korea)

Bodhidharma. Unknown painter, Late Joseon period, Korea. Inscription: 'Image of Bodhidharma crossing the River' though the painting does not refer to this episode of Bodhidharma's legend. Colours on paper. Private collection (Kim Na-mi 2000. no.36)

Huineng, the sixth Chan patriarch. Printed in 1610 (*Sancai tuhui*, Reprint 1988)

Huineng (from a set of the six Chan patriarchs). Twelfth century rubbing, Rikkyoku-an, Kyoto, Japan (Brinker 1973. Fig.12.b)

Huineng (from a set of the six Chan patriarchs), unknown painter, inscription by Guchū Shūkyū (1323-1409) colours on silk, hanging scroll, Tennei-ji, Fukuchiyama (Brinker 1973. Fig.16)

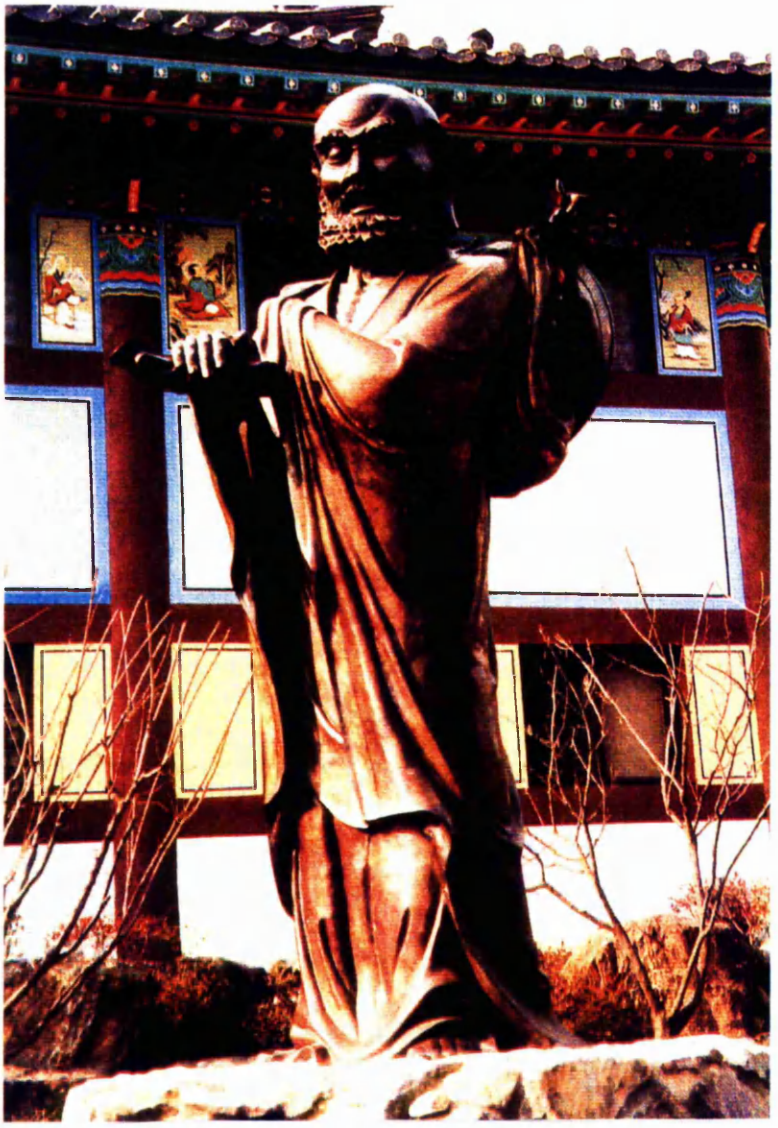
Half-body portrait of Huineng (among patriarchs, in the middle. Detail from the seven scroll set representing thirty patriarchs, and Śākyamuni Buddha holding a flower), painter: Minchō (1351-1431) colours on silk, dated 1426, Rokuō-in, Kyoto, Japan (Brinker 1973. Fig.12.b)

Huineng, the sixth Chan patriarch, *Xianfo qizong* [Kor. *Hongssiseonbulgijong*] printed in 1602, China

Bodhidharma and Huike, wall painting, Daewonsa, Geukrak Hall, South Jolla Province, beginning of the 18th century (Pak Dohwa, 1999:45)

Bodhidharma and Huike, ink and colours on paper, end of Joseon period, Haeinsa, Collection of the Tweseol Hall (Kim Na-mi 2000)

Bodhidharma. Ming period rubbing from the Shaolin Monastery
(Reproduction of the original from Prof. Whitfield; photo: Beatrix Mecsi)



Bodhidharma. Bronze sculpture executed by a Chinese sculptor. Waujeong Temple, Yong'in district, Kyeonggi do, Korea, 1992 (Pyeon Jippu 2002: 20-21)

Bodhidharma and Huike, ink and colours on paper, end of Joseon period, Haeinsa, Collection of the Tweseol Hall (Kim Na-mi 2000)

Bodhidharma. Unknown painter, middle of Joseon period, 340 x 280 cm, Emille Museum, Korea (Kim Na-mi, 2000: 70-71)

Standing figure on a reed. Painter: Kim Hongdo (1745-1806) Inscription: "Crossing the sea on a reed", colours on paper, 58.3 x 10.5 cm, Gansong Art Gallery, Seoul (Choi 1998: pl. 40)

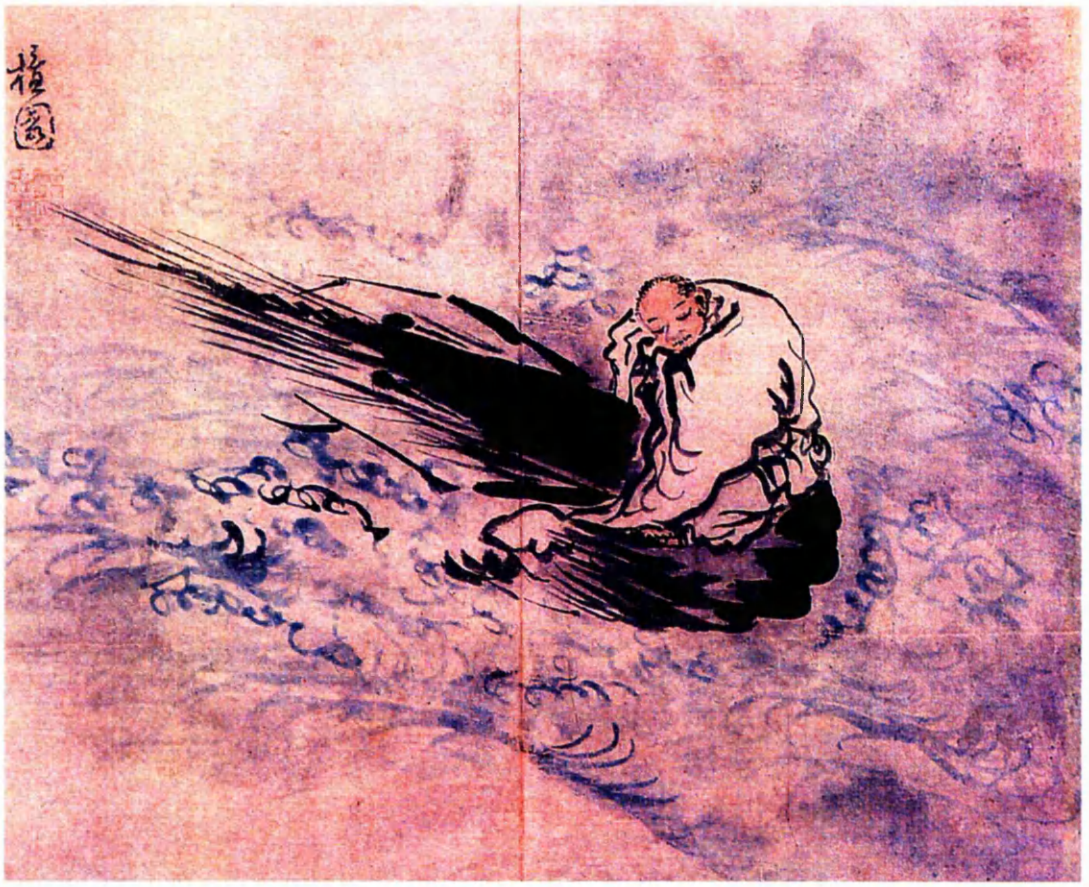
Daoist Immortal. Painter: Shen Chou (1427-1509). Ming China, dated 1501, ink and colours on paper, 69.9 x 31.7 cm, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum (Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting, 1980: no. 156)

Figure Sleeping while sitting on a reed. Painter: Kim Hongdo (1745-1806) ink and colours on paper, 38.4 x 26.6 cm, Gansong Art Museum (Gansong 2002. pl.86)

Figure sleeping while sitting on a reed. Painter: Shim Sajeong (1707-1769), ink and colours on paper, 27.3 x 22.5 cm, Gansong Art Museum, Seoul (Choi 1998:pl. 43)

Figure sleeping and sitting. Painter: Kim Seokshin. Inscription: "painting of sleeping and sitting." Ink and light colours on paper, 26 x 20.5 cm. Gansong Art Museum, Seoul, Korea (Gansong 1980. Fig.16)

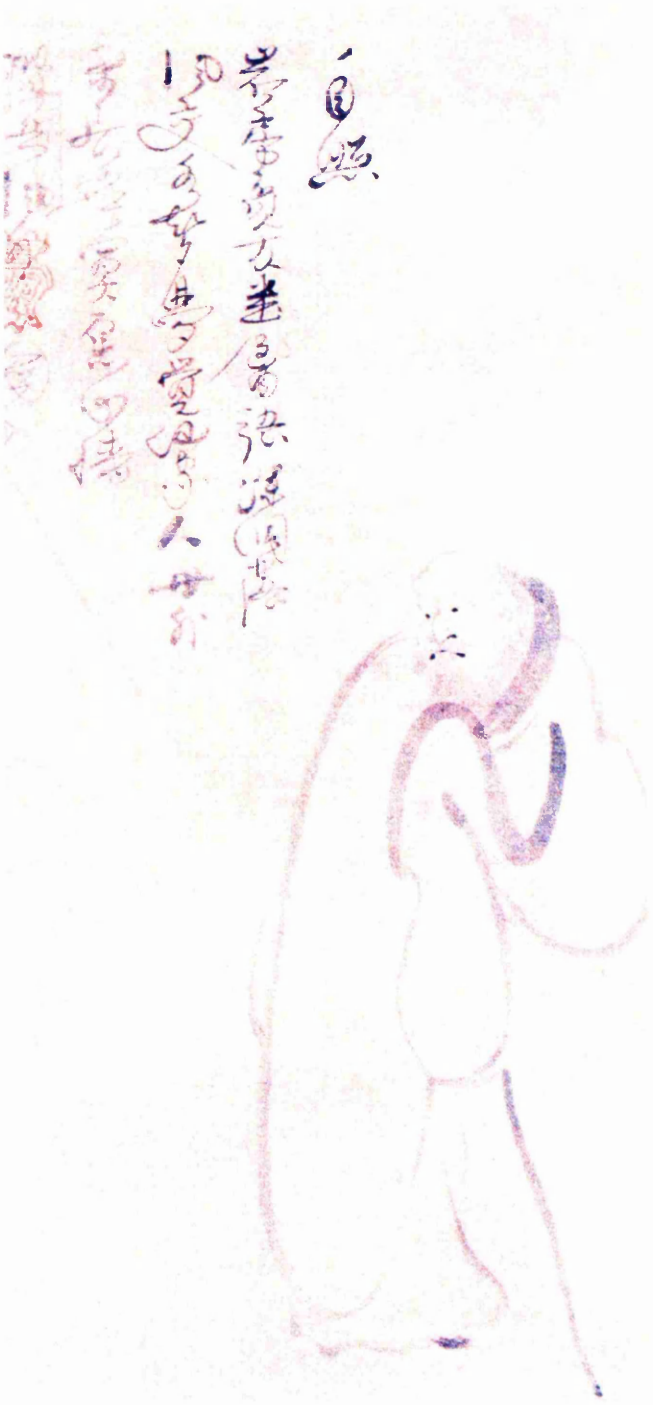
Immortal Liu Haichan crossing the sea. Painter: Liu Jun (pen name: Ting Wei), Ming China, 15-16th century, colours on silk(Encyclopaedia of the Ancient Chinese painters, in Chinese, p.257)



Immortal crossing the sea on a shrimp. Painter: Kim Hongdo (1745-1806), ink and light colours on paper, 33.1 x 41 cm, Sun Moon University Museum collection (Sun Moon Collection 2001: pl. 83, p.280)

Bodhidharma crossing while sitting on a reed. Painter: Yi Doyeong (1885-1934). Ink and colours on paper, 116 x 36.5 cm. Tongdosa Temple Museum (Choi 1995. pl.29)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Emperor Goyōzei (1571-1617, reigned 1568-1611), ink on paper, hanging scroll, Jishō-in, Shōtoku-ji, Kyoto, Japan (McFarland 1987. pl.3)



Self-portrait (Self-illumination).Painter: Fūgai Ekun (Dōjin)(1568- 1654), inscription:
Fūgai's poem:
"Yearning for friends in my rocky cave, I am captivated by the singing of small birds;
The wind entering deep into the grotto mingles with the voice of the stream.
Awakening from a dream, this hermit exists beyond the world
A quiet life, off by myself, fulfills my spirit."
Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 57.5 x 27.3 cm, Japan, Private Collection (Addiss 1989, pl. 21)

Daruma-portrait (detail). Painter: Fūgai Ekun (Dōjin) (1568- 1654). Inscription:

"This old barbarian sat face to the wall,
Everyone in the Zen tradition is left confused
One thousard years, ten thousand years
Will anyone ever understand?

-

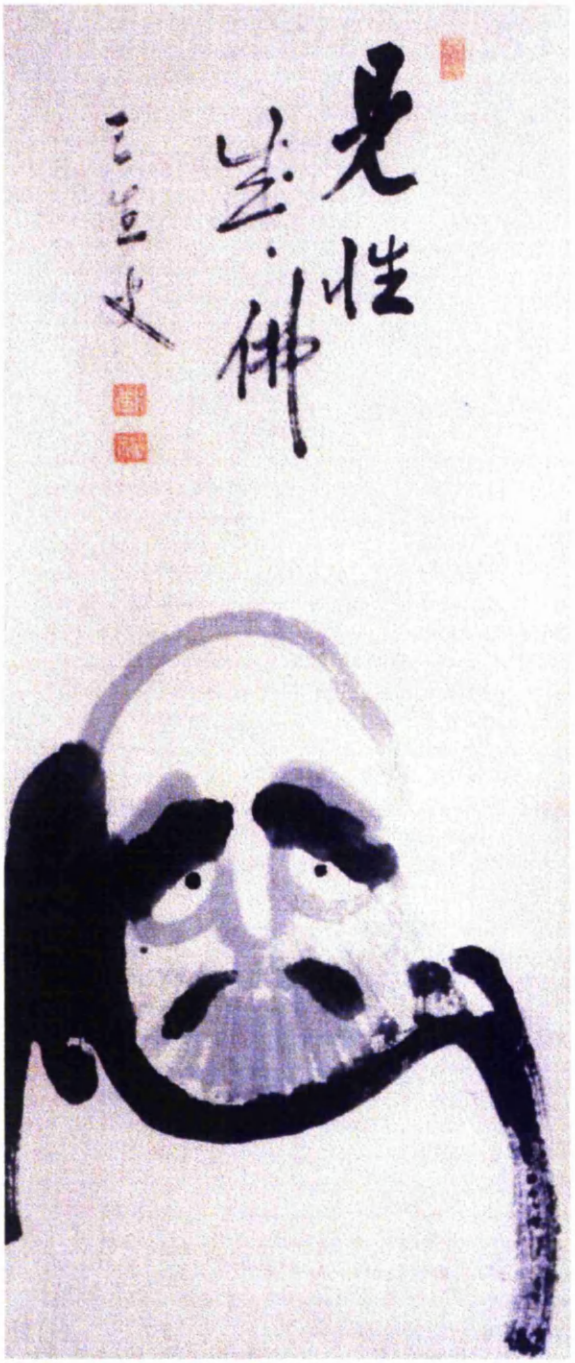
This wall-gazing old barbarian monk
Has eyes that exceed the glow of the evening lamp;
His silence has never been challenged
His living dharma extends to the present day."

Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll. 26 x 16.54 cm, L. Wright Collection (Addiss 1989, pl. 25)

Nakahara Nantenbō [Tōjō Zenchū] (1839- 1925), Japan, photograph of the monk (Seo-Addiss 1998)

Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Nakahara Nantenbō [Tōjō Zenchū] (1839- 1925), Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 97.2 x 40.6 cm. Inscription:
"I don't know!"
Dated 1917, Private Collection, Japan (Stevens-Yelen 1990. pl. 11)

Yūzen Gentatsu [Sanshōken] (1842-1918), Japan, photograph of the monk (Seo-Addiss 1998)



Half-body Bodhidharma. Painter: Yūzen Gentatsu [Sanshōken] (1842-1918), inscription: "See your own nature, become Buddha!"
Japan, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 80.2 x 32.5 cm, Hōsei-an Collection, Japan (Seo-Addiss 1998, pl. 28)

Meditating Bodhidharma. Painter: Tōrei Enji (1721-1792), inscriptions:
"Directly pointing the human heart
See [one's true] nature [thereby] realizing Buddhahood."
"Respectful painting of Bodhidharma According to the Chanjing.
Pure white in the centre is a mark for the eighth consciousness. Black represents the seventh consciousness. Red represents the sixth consciousness. The eye, ear, and the nose are located on the body. Next, the red lines on the yellow body display the different channels of the mind. The dark red of the tanden only indicates that it is the crucial point where vital energy is gathered."
"The three divisions of mindful breathing, superior way, and contemplation of foulness, each set up four heavy barriers. The two practices (the expedient way and the superior way) enter into contact with [external] constituents, deepening meditative absorbtion. The four [boundless] teachings harmonize the senses and reinforce the source of the vows. The lord of the aggregates and the minister of the sense-data are equipped with culture and military force; karmic relations arise and the body is born, wisdom and compassion are brought to perfection. One must examine in detail the specialized and cumulative [benefits] of verses and prose. This is precisely the nine cinnabar-revolutions of Sholin (Bodhidharma."
"Painted in the fall of 1781 following the request of layman Tokkō(?). The first half of the zazen [retreat] and lecture at the Sōyū-ji having been completed, humbly written by Tōrei."
Ink and light colours on paper. Dated 1781 (translation of the inscription and photograph with the courtesy of Michel Mohr 2003.)

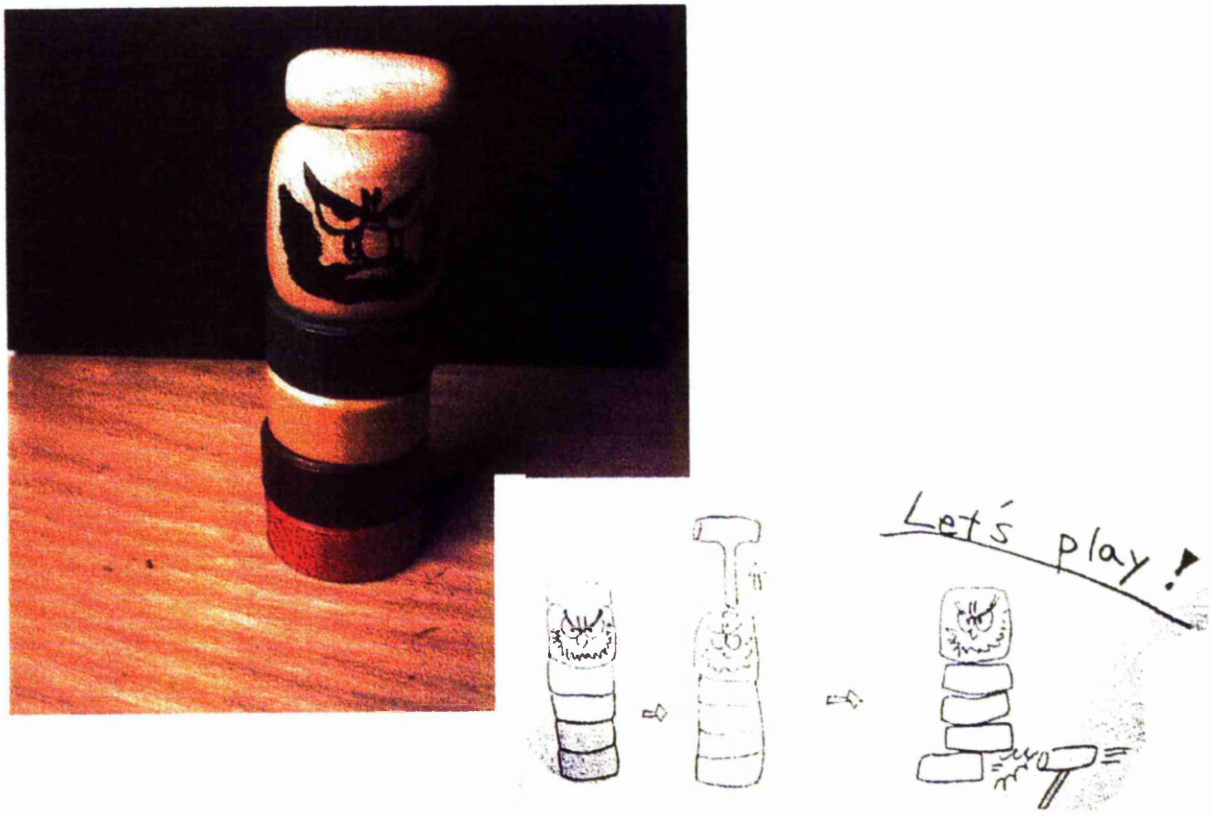
Daruma-doll as an Amulet for Protection Against Smallpox.by Kitano Shigemasa, ca. Tenmei era (1781-1789), hosoban size benizuri-e. Krakow (Japanese Art. The Great European Collections.1997. Vol.10. no. 39)

Daruma-dolls at Mampuku-ji, Ōji, Japan (Photo: Beatrix Mecsi)

Five colour Daruma-dolls, made from silk cocoons (Baten 1992)

House of Pleasures (on the wall a Bodhidharma-painting). Painter: Kawanabe Gyōsai (1831-1889). Los Angeles County Museum of Art (McFarland 1987. pl.11)

Daruma on a fan. Artist: Kitagawa Utamaro (1754-1806). coloured woodblock print, ca. 1797. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (McFarland 1987. Fig.83)



Daruma as a toy (Daruma otoshi). painted wood, 10 cm high (photo: Beatrix Mecsi)

'Snow Daruma'. Painter: Nakahara Nantenbō [Tōjō Zenchū] (1839-1925), inscription is a poem originally composed by Tesshū:

A Daruma is made
of piled up snow
As the days pass
He disappears
But where did he go?

Ink on paper, hanging scroll, 123.2 x 33.7 cm. dated 1921. Private Collection (Stevens-Yelen 1990, pl. 23)